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# HEBRAICA

A Quarterly Journal in the Interests of Semitic Study

VOLUME III

OCTOBER 1886 - JULY 1887

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# ➤ HEBRAICA. ◀

VOL. III.

OCTOBER, 1886.

NO. I.

## THE ALLEGED COMPOSITE CHARACTER OF EXODUS I., II.

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The character and cogency of the arguments for the critical division of Exodus may be illustrated by testing them in their application to the opening chapters of this book. Exodus I.—XI. contain an account of Israel in Egypt until the institution of the Passover and the plague of slaying the first-born on the night of the departure out of the land. This may be conveniently divided into three sections, viz., (1) I., II., the multiplication of Israel, their oppression, the birth of Moses and his flight to Midian; (2) III. 1—VII. 7, the call and mission of Moses; (3) VII. 8—XI. 10, the plagues of Egypt.

The first section is parcelled by different critics as follows:

*Knobel*, Elohist, I. 1-7, 13, 14; II. 23-25.

Jehovist, I. 8-12, 15-22; II. 1-22 (he follows the *Kriegsbuch* in II. 11-22).

*Kayser*, Elohist, I. 1-4, 5*b*, 7\*, 13, 14; II. 23*b*-25.

Jehovist, I. 6, 8-12, 15-22, II. 1-23*a*.

Redactor, I. 5*a*.

*Nöldeke*, Grundschrift, I. 1-5, 7\*, 13, 14\*; II. 23 (from ויאחזו)-25; VI. 2 seq.

Second Elohist, I. 6, 8-12.

The Redactor has inserted from B in I. 7 וישרצו... ויעצמו see verse 9, and from other sources in I. 14 בחמר ובלבנים or at least ובלבנים see chapter V.

*Dillmann*, A, I. 1-5, 7, 13 seq.; II. 23*b*-25; VI. 2 seq. (I. 6 probably does not belong to A).

B, I. 8-12, 15-22; II. 1-14.

C, II. 15-23*a*.

*Wellhausen*, Q, I. 1-5, 7\* (except ויעצמו וירבו see verses 9, 20), 13, 14\* (except second half of 14*a* and prefixing 14*b*); II. 23*b*-25; VI. 2 seq.

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\* An asterisk attached to a figure indicates that the verse is not retained in its original form, but has undergone more or less modification.

JE, I. 6, 8-12, 15-22 (some words from verses 7, 14a); II. 1-23a.

J, I. 6, 7\* (וירבו ויצצמו), 8-10, (עברה בשדה), 14a\*, 20b, 22; II. 11-22.

E, I. 11, 12, 15-20a, 21; II. 1-10.

*Schrader*, *Annalist*, I. 1-6, 7, 13, 14; II. 23b-25.

Theocratic, I. 8-12, 15-22; II. 1-14.

Prophetic, II. 15-23a.

According to these critical schemes the Elohist says nothing whatever of the birth of Moses, or the cruel edict of the king of Egypt to slay the Hebrew children, nothing of Moses being found by Pharaoh's daughter or brought up by her, and nothing of his flight to Midian. He is not once mentioned, until God suddenly reveals himself to him in Egypt without any antecedent explanation (VI. 2 seq.) and commissions him to be the deliverer of Israel. The Elohist's account preceding the call of Moses is limited to a brief recapitulation of the sons of Jacob, who came with him and with their households into Egypt, and their immense multiplication (verse 7). Upon this follows without any further explanation the statement (verses 13, 14) of their being grievously oppressed by the Egyptians; then (II. 23b-25) their sighing by reason of their bondage and God's gracious purpose to deliver them; whereupon he reveals himself to Moses and summons him to this work (VI. 2 seq.) without the reason having been told that such a person as Moses existed. Kuenen (*Hexateuch*, p. 69) owns that Moses could not have been so abruptly introduced. "This revelation must have been preceded by some details concerning Moses, which have not been able to hold their place by the side of the more elaborate narrative of Exod. II.-V. drawn from other sources."

These verses thus arbitrarily sundered from the context in which they stand, and where they are in every case appropriate and suitably connected, are assigned to the Elohist on the ground of their alleged peculiar style and diction and allusions which they contain to other parts of the Elohim document. The name Elohim occurs in the last three of these verses (II. 23b-25), but so it does in I. 17, 20, 21, which are not referred to him, and in fact Elohim is the only name of God that occurs in the course of these chapters, so that it affords no criterion of partition. The genealogical list of the sons of Jacob (I. 1-5), it is said, must belong to the Elohist, since he is partial to genealogies and it is he that invariably records them. And yet the critics differ among themselves on this point. The detailed list of Jacob's family that went with him into Egypt (Gen. XLVI. 8-26) is indeed referred to the Elohist by Dillmann, Schrader and Nöldeke; but Hupfeld and Böhmer assign it to the Jehovist, to whose preceding statements it contains many manifest allusions (Kays. p. 30, note), and Kayser maintains that it belongs neither to the Elohist nor to the Jehovist, but has been inserted by the Redactor (p. 31, yet see his statement p. 36 that all such lists belonged to the Jehovist). In this conflict of opinion the list of names of itself can hardly be regarded as deciding in

favor of the Elohist in this instance; nor can the expressions (I. 5) "souls" in the sense of persons, and "came out of the loins of," which are common to both lists, be classed as peculiarly Elohist. Kayser, in fact, claims (p. 36) that the first part of I. 5, in which these expressions occur, viz., "and all the souls that came out of the loins of Jacob were seventy souls" is an insertion by the Redactor, because it interrupts the connection; and that the last clause of verse 5 should be joined directly with verse 4. Exod. I. 5 יָצְאוּ יְרֵךְ and Gen. XLVI. 26 יָצְאוּ יְרֵכָה are the only passages in which this phrase occurs; in Gen. XXXV. 11 מִחֻלְצֵי יָצָא the same idea is somewhat differently phrased, and the critics would cite this in evidence of diversity of writers if it suited their purpose. And further, the affirmation that this list (Exod. I. 1-5) belongs to the Elohist because that in Gen. XLVI., upon which it is evidently based and from which it is condensed, belongs to him, is directly in the face of the critical dictum that parallel passages are an indication of distinct writers, and that one renders the other superfluous.

In I. 7 the vast multiplication of the children of Israel is expressed by heaping together a number of synonymous terms and adding intensive adverbs, פָּרוּ וַיִּרְבוּ וַיַּעֲצֻמוּ בְּמֵאָד מְאֹד, "were fruitful and increased abundantly and multiplied and waxed exceeding mighty." Now this would answer very well for the Elohist, who is said to be very diffuse in his expressions and to be very fond of multiplying words, an instance of which is alleged in I. 1; and all of these words but עָצַם occur singly or together in other Elohist passages. But the perplexing thing about it is that some of these same words are used with evident reference to this passage in the verses that immediately follow, which are by the critics assigned to an independent writer. In verse 9 the king of Egypt says, "the children of Israel are רַב וְעָצוּם more and mightier than we," a plain allusion to the וַיִּרְבוּ וַיַּעֲצֻמוּ of verse 7. So verse 20, וַיִּרְבֶּה הָעָם וַיַּעֲצֻמוּ בְּמֵאָד "and the people multiplied and waxed very mighty" alludes to וַיִּרְבוּ וַיַּעֲצֻמוּ בְּמֵאָד of verse 7, "multiplied and waxed exceeding mighty." The natural inference from these cross references would be that chapter I. is continuous throughout, the product of a single writer. But the critics have decreed otherwise, though they show their perplexity by their lack of unanimity as to the mode of dealing with this difficulty. As "be fruitful and multiply" פָּרוּ וַיִּרְבוּ often occur together in Elohist passages (Gen. I. 22, 28; XVII. 20; XXVIII. 3; XXXV. 11; XLVIII. 4), Nöldeke claims that these were the only verbs in the verse in its original form as it stood in the Elohim document, and that the other two וַיַּעֲצֻמוּ... וַיִּשְׂרְצוּ were inserted by the Redactor from the other document, which must have contained a parallel statement. Each writer spoke of the multiplication of the children of Israel and used two different verbs to describe it. But the Redactor (or compiler) has fused both sentences together and retained all four of the verbs; though it is somewhat singular that in doing so he should thrust one verb from each writer between the two of the other, taking the first and third from one, the second and



fourth from the other. But as שָׂרַץ also often occurs in the Elohist (I. 20, 21, etc.), and that too in immediate connection with פָּרָה and רָבָה, e. g., Gen. VIII. 17; IX. 7, Knobel thinks that these three verbs were in the verse in its original form and only the remaining one (עָצַם) was supplied by the Redactor. This, however, loses sight of the fact that both רָבָה and עָצַם are plainly alluded to in the רָב וְעָצַם of verse 9, which is attributed to the other document. Accordingly, to make the critical jargon complete, Wellhausen pares away both of these verbs from verse 7, leaving only פָּרָה and שָׂרַץ "were fruitful and increased abundantly" to it in its original form; although these two are never joined together elsewhere without רָבָה accompanying them.

There is a critical disagreement also about verse 6, "And Joseph died and all his brethren and all that generation." Hupfeld (p. 86) and Schrader leave it with the passage assigned to the Elohist, to which it naturally belongs and of which it is an appropriate part. But this evidently prepares the way for verse 8 and the narrative that follows, thus binding the whole together as one continuous passage. Consequently Nöldeke, followed by Kayser, Dillmann and Wellhausen, felt it to be necessary to cut verse 6 out of its proper connection and assign it to the other document as the beginning of the account continued in verses 8 seq.

With this diversity among the critics themselves, and the facts of the case being as already stated, it can scarcely be said that any very clear proof has been given that the opening verses of this chapter are to be sundered from what follows, and assigned to a separate Elohist document.

I pass now to the next passage which the critics unanimously assign to the Elohist, verses 13, 14. Here we suddenly find without any intimation of a change of policy that the Egyptians, who with their king were so friendly to Jacob and his descendants, "made the children of Israel to serve with rigor." This needs for its explanation the very verses which have here been cut out and assigned to the other document, verses 8-10. But it is alleged that verses 13, 14 simply repeat what is already contained in verses 11, 12, and moreover they have a peculiar diction which shows them to belong to the Elohist. But these verses are not superfluous in connection with what precedes. It is evident on inspection that there is no mere tautology, nor even unnecessary redundancy, but rather an endeavor on the part of the writer to impress his readers with the severity of the bondage imposed on the Israelites; so that he dwells upon the subject, using more intense expressions and adding fresh particulars. That the one passage is not a bare repetition of the other is further apparent from the confession of some of the critics themselves, who claim that these verses imply a different conception of the tasks imposed upon the Israelites from the preceding. One passage speaks of "burdens" or loads which they had to carry and of cities which they helped to build, the other of "hard bondage in mortar and brick and in all manner of service in the field." But this is no contrariety in the view taken of Egyptian bondage; it is simply an

additional item in its description, and involves therefore no suspicion of a diversity of writers. The mention of "brick," verse 14, evidently prepares the way for the account in chapter v. of the tasks demanded of them in making bricks (associated v. 4, 5 with "burdens," as "burdens" i. 11 with "bricks" verse 14), which binds this passage with that, and yet chapter v. is by the critics referred to the Jehovist. So that Nöldeke thought it necessary to strike out **ובלבנים** "and in brick" or perhaps **בחמר ובלבנים** "in mortar and in brick," as not belonging to i. 14 in its original form, but introduced by the Redactor. Wellhausen even thinks it advisable to expunge the entire latter part of the first clause, and then to transpose the remainder with the second clause, which is closely related in its expressions to the preceding verse, so that the text thus doctored will read, "And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigor: all the service wherein they made them serve was with rigor; and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage." In regard to which we can only say that if the critics are allowed to remodel the text at their pleasure and erase whatever stands in their way, they can probably prove any point that they wish to prove.

Knobel points out two expressions in verses 13, 14, which he says are Elohistie, viz., **פָּרַךְ** *rigor* and **עֲבָדָה קָשָׁה** *hard bondage*. The former, which occurs twice here, is found in but one other passage in the Pentateuch, where it is three times repeated, Lev. xxiii. 43, 46, 53, and is probably employed with definite reference to the passage before us. "Thou shalt not rule over him with rigor," carries with it the thought, thou shalt not deal oppressively with him as Egypt did with Israel. Besides this the word is used but once in the entire Bible, viz., in Ezek. xxxiv. 4, where the A.V. has "cruelty," but the Revision "rigor." The whole mind of this prophet was steeped in the earlier Scriptures, and he often revives the obsolete expressions of the Mosaic law. It is obvious that so rare a word as this is no criterion of style. If it is found in but two Elohistie sections in the Pentateuch and is absent from every other section by the same author, it is not surprising that it should not occur in the Jehovist sections, seeing that the writer found no occasion for its employment. The other expression **עֲבָדָה קָשָׁה** is found but twice besides in the Pentateuch, in Exod. vi. 9, where it is also referred to the Elohist, and in Deut. xxvi. 6, where the critics refer it to an entirely distinct writer, the Deuteronomist. We, on the contrary, refer it to the same writer every time, whom we believe to be no other than Moses himself. Nöldeke compares "they made their lives bitter" **וַיַּמְרְרוּ אֶת-חַיֵּיהֶם** verse 14 with **מָרַת רוּחַ** "bitterness of spirit" or grief of spirit in Gen. xxvi. 35, an Elohistie passage; but a much more analogous expression is **וַיַּמְרְרוּהוּ** "they made it bitter for him," Gen. xlix. 23, a Jehovist passage, as the critics reckon it, and the only other place in the Pentateuch in which the peculiar form of the verb is used which is here employed.

I pass now to the next passage which is assigned to the Elohist II. 23b-25. Here I remark that by lopping away the first clause of verse 23, this passage is made to begin in the middle of a sentence. The fact that this is capable of being attached to I. 14 and yet make good sense does not prove this to have been its original connection. It might with an equally good result be joined to the first clause of verse 11, which the critics say belonged to an entirely different document. The scene at the burning bush in chapter III., though attributed by the critics to the Jehovist, is filled with allusions to these verses. "The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob," III. 6, corresponds with the mention, II. 24, of God's "covenant with Abraham, with Isaac and with Jacob." Jehovah says (III. 7), "I have seen," and "have heard," and "I know," which corresponds precisely with "God heard" (verse 24), "God saw" and "God knew" (verse 25) (AV. "looked upon" and "had respect unto," verse 25). "The cry (צַעֲקַת) of the children of Israel is come (בָּא) unto me" (III. 9) corresponds in thought, if not in exact verbal expression, with "they cried (וַיִּצְעֲקוּ) and their cry came up (וַיִּתְעַל) unto God" (II. 23). Such a number of coincidences could not occur in totally independent documents, but they are altogether natural in contiguous paragraphs by the same writer.

These verses have their root likewise in what is recorded in the Book of Genesis. The "covenant with Abraham" (verse 24) plainly refers back to Gen. XVII. (but see also XV. 18 of the Jehovist). The covenant with Jacob may refer to Gen. XXXV. 9 seq., also an Elohim passage, though one might more naturally think of Gen. XXVIII. 13 seq., which is Jehovistic. But there is absolutely no covenant with Isaac mentioned in any Elohim section, for it is plain that Gen. XXV. 11, to which Kayser appeals (p. 37, note) cannot be so considered. The only covenant with Isaac is that recorded Gen. XXVI. 2 seq., 24 seq., and these passages are Jehovistic. So that according to the division made by the critics, we have here an Elohist paragraph in Exod. II. 24 referring back to something recorded in the Jehovist document, which is inconsistent with any form of the divisive hypothesis ever yet proposed. Knobel cites two words in these verses as belonging to the diction of the Elohist. The first is זָכַר, a rare word, which is found but once besides in the Pentateuch, Exod. VI. 5, where it is used with direct reference to this place, and which therefore can give no criterion of a writer's habitual style. The second is נָסָא *remember*, said of God. God is several times spoken of as remembering in Elohist passages, e. g., Gen. VIII. 1; IX. 15, 16; XIX. 29; Exod. VI. 5; Lev. XXVI. 42, 45. But that it is not peculiar to the Elohist is plain from Gen. XXX. 22, which Knobel is alone in referring to him; (Hupfeld, Nöldeke, Kayser, Schrader, Dillmann ascribe it to a different document); as well as from Exod. XXXII. 13, which is universally attributed to the Jehovist.

It can scarcely be said that the separatist hypothesis has a very strong foothold in the alleged Elohist passages of the first two chapters. Let us turn now to

the remaining sections of these chapters. Here an account is given of the cruel edict of the king of Egypt directing that every Hebrew child should be put to death, which Knobel considers utterly improbable, and numbers this among the reasons why this must have been written by the romancing Jehovist. It further records the infancy of Moses, the peril to which he was exposed, his being found and taken in charge by Pharaoh's daughter, his fleeing to Midian and his abode there, where he married the daughter of the priest of Midian. Of all this it is said that the Elohist knows nothing whatever.

In fact, the critics tell us, the account which is given of the parentage of Moses in II. 1 is at variance with that given elsewhere by the Elohist; so that this must be taken from quite a different document (so Dillmann). According to II. 1 the father and mother of Moses are unnamed persons of whom nothing further is known than that they belonged to the tribe of Levi. But the Elohist in Exod. VI. 20 and again in Num. XXVI. 58, 59 not only gives the names of both the father and mother of Moses, Amram and Jochebed, but says that the former was the grandson and the latter the own daughter of Levi. This, it is said, is quite a different representation from the other, and implies that the account in Exod. II. cannot be from the Elohist. With this I. 15-22 is indissolubly connected, because it is necessary to explain the circumstances under which Moses was born and the perils to which he was subjected in his infancy. Now, as Elohim is the name of God used in this paragraph (I. 17, 20, 21), it cannot be from the Jehovist, but by the other Elohist, and this, it is said, is confirmed by its peculiar diction. Dillmann notes four words that occur here as characteristic of the second Elohist יִלֵּךְ I. 17 seq.; II. 3, 6-10; דָּעָה II. 4; אִמָּה II. 5; כֹּה in the sense of *here*, II. 12; two of these, יִלֵּךְ and דָּעָה, Knobel adduces with equal confidence as characteristic of the Jehovist. So that the proof from diction of diversity of authorship rests on very slender grounds. And the alleged contrariety as to Moses' parentage is of no force, for it amounts simply to this, that their names are not mentioned when they are first referred to, but afterwards they are. The Amram who was Moses' father was not Levi's grandson, and Jochebed was not Levi's own daughter, any more than when Jesus Christ is called the son of David, or a Jew at the present day is called the child of Abraham, we are to understand that immediate offspring is intended in either case. And the argument for diversity of authorship in I. 6, 8-12 is just as flimsy. We have seen already that I. 13, 14 is not superfluous beside I. 11, 12, and that there is no diversity of view to preclude their proceeding from a common source. And the only additional consideration that verses 8-12 betray an intimate knowledge of Egyptian affairs is of no force, unless it can be shown that the Elohist was deficient in this respect. If, however, without demanding further proof we assent to the partition of chaps. I. and II., and allow the assumption of a different writer from the one first considered, the disagreements and the difficulties of the critics in maintaining their hypothesis have only begun.

After the Elohist verses, which have been already reviewed, are sundered from these chapters, Knobel assigns all the rest to the Jehovist, finding abundant indications of his diction and style in verses which others impute to the second Elohist, and even claiming as Jehovistic criteria what other critics class as criteria of a distinct writer. He also counts it among the Jehovist's characteristics that etymologies are given (II. 10) of the name Moses and (II. 22) of Gershom; that the names of the midwives (I. 15) are given, an exaggerated statement made of the numbers of the Hebrews (I. 9), improbable commands attributed to the king (I. 16, 22), while the fact that Moses' father-in-law in II. 18 is called Reuel and in III. 1 Jethro does not prevent his assigning both these passages to the Jehovist. How weak these arguments are in the esteem of other critics appears from the fact that in spite of them, they assign the greater portion of this passage not to the Jehovist, but to a different writer, the second Elohist.

Further, while Knobel attributes this passage to the Jehovist and finds abundant indications of his style and diction, he nevertheless discovers many peculiar expressions which he can only explain by assuming that the Jehovist has here drawn his materials from pre-existing documents which contained special accounts of Israel's condition in Egypt, and that he has imported these peculiarities from them. It ought here to be observed how this building hypothesis upon hypothesis weakens instead of strengthening the cause which requires to be supported in this manner. One of the grounds on which we are asked to believe in the existence of these hypothetical writers is that the sections assigned to each respectively have their own peculiar diction and style. But here the section assigned to the Jehovist departs so seriously from what is alleged to be his ordinary style that he must be supposed to be borrowing from some other treatise.

The section assigned by Knobel to the Jehovist is by Schrader and Dillmann parcelled between the second Elohist and the Jehovist, called by Dillmann B and C and by Schrader the Theocratic and the Prophetic narrators; to the former as far as II. 14, to the latter from II. 15 onward the flight into Midian and Moses' residence there. In the section attributed to the second Elohist, however, Dillmann finds several words and expressions which are commonly regarded as characteristic of the Jehovist. He infers from this that the Jehovist document must have contained an account of the very same matters as are found in this paragraph taken from the second Elohist, and that the Redactor, who is always ready on an emergency, while copying mainly from the one document, introduced a few words here and there from the other.

Moreover, while the visit to Midian and Moses' marriage there (II. 15-23a) is taken from the Jehovist document, the second Elohist must have recorded the very same facts. This is shown by his repeated allusions to them (III. 1 seq.; IV. 18; XVIII. 1 seq.). It seems, therefore, that the writer of I. 8-12, 15-II. 14 must have narrated substantially what is found in II. 15-23a; and the writer of II. 15-

23a must have narrated substantially what is found in the preceding section. This is certainly adapted to awaken the suspicion that the critics have sundered what belongs together; that the missing sections are purely imaginary, and that these successive paragraphs have emanated from one and the same writer.

The reasons adduced to show that II. 15 seq. are by a different writer from the preceding verses, seem to have very little stringency. Thus Schrader says that II. 14 suggests one motive for Moses' flight and verse 15 another. According to the former Moses was afraid because his killing the Egyptian had become publicly known. According to the latter he fled because Pharaoh sought to slay him. But these reasons are not only perfectly consistent, but really identical. The reason that Moses feared the publicity of his act was lest it should come to the ears of Pharaoh. Dillmann accordingly dismisses this as of no weight whatever; and he makes no account of the occurrence of *וַיִּשְׁרַח* II. 17, which Knobel claims as Jehovistic, but which occurs, Gen. XXI. 10, in a passage assigned to the second Elohist. He lays all the stress upon the fact that Moses' father-in-law is in successive paragraphs called by different names, Reuel in II. 18, Jethro in III. 1, holding that this is clear evidence of distinct writers. Knobel, as we have seen, does not regard this as decisive. He thinks the same writer used them both. And in fact there is no difficulty in this assumption, for while "Reuel" was his name, properly speaking, "Jethro" was his official title, meaning as it does "his Excellency;" so that the alternation is just as natural as though some one were to speak of President Cleveland, and then immediately after refer to him as "his Excellency."

Further, the alleged Jehovah verses II. 15-22 are most intimately related both with what precedes and with what follows, although Dillmann refers these to a different writer. The flight to Midian related by the Jehovist is in consequence of his killing the Egyptian which is related by the second Elohist. So too his keeping the flocks of his father-in-law, as told by the Jehovist, is pre-supposed in the account of God's manifestation to him in the bush at Horeb given by the second Elohist. All forms part of one continuous narrative, every portion of which is essential to the understanding of the rest.

The identity of the expressions in II. 22 (Jehovist), and XVIII. 3 (second Elohist) explaining why Moses called his son's name Gershon, "for he said, I have been a stranger in a strange land," shows plainly that these verses have not been independently conceived. And the occurrence (II. 16) in a Jehovist connection of the rare word *וַיִּשְׁרַח* *troughs* elsewhere used by the second Elohist (Gen. xxx. 38, 41) leads Dillmann to infer that these verses, though taken by the Redactor from the Jehovist document, had been borrowed with some modifications by the Jehovist from the prior document of the second Elohist. According to Dillmann then we have in II. 15-23a a Jehovist paragraph interposed between two second Elohist paragraphs, forming parts of one closely connected narrative, no portion of which

is intelligible without the other; and there are clear indications beside that this Jehovist paragraph came originally from the second Elohist. And yet all this jumble of different writers is assumed on the sole ground that Reuel is called by his proper name (II. 18), and by his title Jethro, or his Excellency (III. 1). And when in addition to all this we find the Jehovist in IV. 19 referring back to this narrative, and are told that both the Jehovist and the second Elohist must have given complete and similar accounts of this whole matter, the suspicion very naturally arises that perhaps the Jehovist and second Elohist may be the same person, notwithstanding all this mystification.

Wellhausen again deals with the non-Elohistic portion of the chapters before us in his own peculiar fashion. While he agrees with Knobel in referring it all to the Jehovist, he maintains that this Jehovist document is itself composite, being made up of two prior sources, and thus is so far brought into accord with Dillmann and Schrader. The division which he actually makes, however, is quite distinct from theirs, and his nomenclature as well as his symbols are peculiar. His J, the Jahvist, corresponds to Dillmann's C, or what other critics call the Jehovist. His E, the Elohist, to Dillmann's B, or what other critics call the second Elohist.

He assigns to J I. 6, the words "were multiplied and waxed exceeding mighty" in verse 7; also verses 8-10, because of their general resemblance in style to Gen. XI. 6, 7. But verses 11, 12 are referred to E, because there is a different phrase for "taskmasters" in verse 11, שָׂרֵי מִסִּים from that which is used III. 7; V. 6, 10, 13, 14, נְגִשִּׁים and because קִיץ to *loathe* is in verse 12 used in the peculiar sense of *being afraid of*. How little weight Dillmann and Schrader attach to these considerations and to the division which is built upon them, appears from their assigning verses 8-12 to the same writer variously denominated E or B or the second Elohist. And in the following paragraph which Dillmann and Schrader assign entire to the same writer, Wellhausen deviates so far as to sever 20b as disturbing the connection between 20a and 21, and attaching the former to verse 22. This he regards as merely a varied repetition of what had already been stated, verses 15-21, and consequently attributable not to E, but to J, which is further confirmed by the words (20b) "multiplied and waxed very mighty," which are identical with those which he attributes to J, in verse 7. And in fact, verse 7 furnishes the key-note of the entire chapter; it is the spring in which all that follows takes its rise, and there are repeated allusions to it and repetitions of its language in subsequent verses, 9, 10, 12, 20, thus binding all into unity and showing the critical attempts at partition to be wholly unfounded.

In I. 14 the words בַּחֲמֹר וּבִלְבָנִים וּבְכָל עֲבֹדָה בְּשֶׂרָה are assigned to J in preparation for chapter V., and stand in contrast with a different conception by E, verse 11. But the Redactor could have seen no contrariety, or he would not have put them together in the same continuous narrative. And at any rate the arbitrary sundering of these words from their connection is but a shift to evade

the evidence which they furnish, that the paragraph in which they are found is from the same pen as chapter V., and a confession that this evidence cannot be set aside by any less violent method.

In chapter II. he makes a different partition from Schrader and Dillmann, assigning verses 1-10 to E, and verses 11-22 to J, thus recognizing the fact which they disregard, that verses 11-14 cannot be sundered from the verses that follow. While thus attributing the account of Moses' birth and infancy to E, and his residence in Midian to J, he nevertheless concludes that J and E alike must have recorded both, leaving us to wonder whether E's missing account of the life in Midian is not after all that which he has imputed to J, and whether J's missing story of Moses' birth is not that which he has ascribed to E, and whether the chapter is not one indivisible narrative, whose different portions are so necessary to each other that even after the critics have sundered it in two, they are straight-way obliged to assume that each part had originally just such a complement as they have severed from it. Wellhausen, however, thinks it quite impossible that it could have been the same writer who said, verse 10, וַיִּגְדֵּל הַיֶּלֶד "and the child was grown," and then immediately after in the next verse וַיִּגְדֵּל מֹשֶׁה "and Moses was grown." This, however, did not disturb Dillmann and Schrader, and it need not disturb us. It requires but little experience to discover that the critics have an abundance of arguments which they can employ if they have any end to be answered by them; but to which they pay no attention if they do not suit their immediate purpose.

E's account of the infancy of Moses is, however, in Wellhausen's opinion full of inconsistencies and incongruities, which show that we have not the story in its primitive form, but that some later account has been intruded into it. According to II. 1, 2 "a man of the house of Levi took a wife and she conceived and bare a son;" from this he infers that Moses was the eldest child, and yet (verse 7) mention is made of an older sister. In verse 6 she saw the child הַיֶּלֶד and lo! a weeping boy נֶעֱר;—the two different terms applied to the infant could scarcely, he thinks, have come from one pen. Further in the same verse "she had compassion on him" is, as he conceives, strangely thrust in between clauses which belong together. "She saw the child....and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children." Again the name was presumably given to the child as soon as he was found, but (verse 10) it is postponed until after he was grown. Now while Wellhausen confesses that he cannot carry a division through upon this basis, he infers from the particulars just recited that there was another version of the story which has been mixed up with the account here given,—a version which knew nothing of the older sister or of the nursing by the mother, but simply said "lo! a weeping boy, and she had compassion on him (verse 6) and (verse 10) he became her son, and she called his name Moses, because she had drawn him out of the water."



It is needless to reply to such baseless conjectures ; only it does not say much for the intelligence of this supposititious writer E if he could unwittingly confuse together two such different accounts of the same transaction ; or if he saw the contrariety, it does not say much for his honesty, that he should have covered it up as he has done, until Wellhausen discovered the fraud. And further, if these contrarieties and improbabilities and varying diction can exist in a paragraph, which, Wellhausen confesses, all came from the pen of E, why must we conclude from the same sort of contrarieties, improbabilities and varying diction, which the critics fancy that they discover elsewhere, that there has been more than a single writer. The ingenious critic has simply exposed the weakness and fallacy of the critical arguments.

A similar confusion, though not to the same extent, is found by Wellhausen in the portion of chapter II., which he attributes to J, verses 11-22. Inconsistent reasons are given (verses 14, 15) for the flight of Moses ; and the last two clauses of verse 15 are not continuous—Moses' sitting down by the well must have preceded his dwelling in the land of Midian, though it is mentioned after it. The puzzle about the name of Moses' father-in-law he undertakes to solve by conjecturing that J mentioned no name in his account, that Jethro was inserted by the Jehovist, but that the Reuel of II. 18 cannot be the same with the Reuel (or Raguel) of Num. x. 29. The father of Hobab spoken of in the latter passage does not correspond with the priest with his seven daughters in the former.

The divisions made of chapters I., II. by the principal critics of the reigning schools have now been recited, together with the reasons on which they base these divisions. I think it can scarcely be said that they are very plausible, much less conclusive. So extensive a hypothesis cannot, it is true, be judged by the inspection of one brief passage. The grounds on which it professedly rests extend through the entire Pentateuch, and it is only after a full examination that we can pronounce finally and decisively upon its truth or its falsity. But we can at least say that, so far as we have seen in this specimen passage, there is not much to commend it to sober and judicious minds. It may be very ingenious, and may set forth a long array of arguments. But we have found no proof that it is true.

# THE LAW OF INHERITANCE IN ANCIENT BABYLONIA.

By THEO. G. PINCHES,

British Museum, London, England.

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In the study of the manners and customs of the ancient nations who of old inhabited the plains of Mesopotamia lies a charm seldom to be found either in their history (which is often dry and uninteresting where it does not throw light upon facts already known to us from the Bible or from the classical authors), or in the philology of their languages, important and deeply interesting as it is. This great charm probably arises from the fact that we get all our information at first hand—from the documents left by the people themselves, enabling us to see them as they were, not as others saw them. The material is plentiful, and it is therefore our own fault if the idea which we get be imperfect or malformed. Time, and much time, will be needed to enable us to understand thoroughly what they have to tell us about themselves; but in the end, by patient research, we may hope to succeed in the work to the very fullest. A beginning has been made, and, no doubt, scholars will add to what we know as time goes on.

The text to which I now draw attention is a legal document of an exceedingly interesting nature, on account of the light it sheds in the direction above indicated. The principal part was obtained by Dr. Wm. Hayes Ward in Mesopotamia, whilst conducting the Wolfe expedition; and it forms part, therefore, of the very valuable collection of tablets brought home by the talented explorer. Prof. Ward was so kind as to allow me to copy this document during his stay in London in June, 1885; and owing to this, I was able, shortly after, to identify a fragment acquired by the British Museum (with a number of other Babylonian antiquities) on the 30th of April, 1885, as a part of this very tablet, adding considerably to the text. The American fragment has twenty-one lines, six of them being imperfect; and gives the beginning of the obverse and the end of the reverse. The English fragment has sixteen lines, all imperfect at the ends, but almost completing the obverse. The tablet probably contained, when perfect, about fifty lines, of which thirty-three remain. Of the wanting lines, about fourteen probably belonged to the text proper, the remainder being the names of the witnesses.

The text refers to an application made by Bêl-kašir to his father Nadinu, to be allowed to adopt Bêl-ukîn, son of his wife Zunnâ by a former husband, as his own son. Nadinu objects on the ground that the property of the family ought to go to his own second son, who, failing heirs lawfully begotten by Bêl-kašir, was the one really entitled to it. As the end of the text is lost, we cannot tell what was the result of the application, but it probably ended either in a refusal on the part

of Nadinu, or else in a compromise. The document is dated at Babylon, the 15th day of Sebat, in the 9th year of Nabonidus king of Babylon (546 B. C.). Most of the witnesses of the transaction were members of the family of Saggillâa, the family to which Nadinu and his son belonged. This interesting text therefore presents us with a picture of a kind of family gathering, before which the son makes his application, and the father gives his answer, and which could, most likely, make an expression of its opinion upon the merits or demerits of the case. This custom of getting the members of the family to attend as witnesses in family matters was not uncommon in Babylonia,<sup>1</sup> and probably helped greatly the just settlement of all questions affecting individual members.

On the following two pages is reproduced the text of this very interesting tablet. The portion belonging to the British Museum is that below line 11 on the obverse, and above line 5 on the reverse, the crack extending downwards to line 15 of the former, and upwards to line 3 of the latter.<sup>2</sup> The registration number of the British Museum fragment is 85-4-30, 48.

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<sup>1</sup> See *The Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon*, p. 104 (No. 70).

<sup>2</sup> Babylonian tablets turn over top and bottom, not sidewise, as do our books.



20. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 21. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 22. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 23. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 24. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 25. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 26. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 27.

## Reverse

1. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 2. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 3. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 4. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 5. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 6. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 7. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 8. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה  
 9. וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה וְיָשָׁב אֶל־בָּרְכָה















## TRANSLITERATION AND LITERAL TRANSLATION.

## OBSERVE.

1. 𐎶 Bêl-kašir, abli-šu ša 𐎶 Nadinu, abil 𐎶 Saggillâa  
Bêl-kašir, his son who (is) Nadinu, son of Saggillâa
2. ana 𐎶 Nadinu, âbi-šu, abli-šu ša 𐎶 Zērîa, abil 𐎶 Saggillâa  
to Nadinu, his father, his son who (is) Zērîa, son of Saggillâa
3. ikbî umma : "Ana Bît-turnî tašpuranni-ma 𐎶 Zunnâ  
said thus : "To Bît-turnî thou sentest me and Zunnâ
4. âššati âhuz-ma mâra u mârta lâ tûldu. 𐎶 Bêl-ukîn,  
as wife I took and son and daughter she bore not. Bêl-ukîn,
5. mâri-šu ša 𐎶 Zunnâ, mâr âššatîa, ša lapani  
her son who (is) Zunnâ, son of my wife, whom formerly
6. 𐎶 Nikûdu, abil 𐎶 Nûr-Sin, muti-šu maḥrû  
(to) Nikûdu, son of Nûr-Sin, her husband former
7. tûlidu, ana mârûti lûlkê-ma  
she had borne, to sonship let me take and
8. lû mârûa šû ; ina IM-DUB mârûti-šu  
let be my son he ; on a tablet his sonship
9. tišab-ma êškêti-ni û mimmu-ni  
set and our incomes and our property
10. malâ bašû kunuk-ma pani-šu šudgil-ma  
as much as there is, seal, and unto him bequeath and
11. lû mâr šabit kâti-ni šû." 𐎶 Nadinu âmat  
let the son taken by our hands be he." Nadinu the word
12. 𐎶 Bêl-kašir, mâri-šu, ikbûšu lâ imgur ; 𐎶 Nadinu  
Bêl-kašir, his son, had said to him did not please ; Nadinu
13. "ana ûmu râkûtu manma šanâmma ana lâ lakê  
"for days distant anyone other (is) not to take

14. êskēti ū NIG-LAG -šunutu” duppi ištur-ma  
incomes and property their” (on) a tablet he had written and
15. kâta            ¶ Bêl-kašir, mâri-šu, irkus-ma            ina libbi ušêdî  
the hands of Bêl-kašir, his son, he had bound and in the midst had made [known]
16. umma: “Umu    ¶ Nadinu ana šîmtu<sup>m</sup> ittalku-ma  
thus: “The day Nadinu to (his) fate goes and
17. arki-šu    mâr        šît                    libbi ša ¶ Bêl-kašir, mâri-šu,  
after him a son proceeding from the heart of Bêl-kašir, his son,
18. ittamladu êskēti ū NIG-LAG-MEŠ  
is born, the incomes and properties
19. ša ¶ Nadinu, âbi-šu, ilikkî;            kî mâr        šît            lib[bî]  
of Nadinu, his father, he shall take; if a son proceeding from the heart.
20. ¶ Bêl-kašir lâ ittamladu, ¶ Bêl-kašir  
of Bêl-kašir is not born, Bêl-kašir
21. âhî-šu        ū            bêt-zîtti-šu            ana mârûtu ilikkê[-ma]  
his brother and the lord of his property to sonship shall take and
22. êskēti-šu    ū    NIG-LAG-MEŠ ša ¶ Nadinu âbi[-šu]  
his incomes and the properties of Nadinu his father
23. pani-šu    iddagal    ¶ Bêl-kašir manma šanam[ma]  
unto him shall bequeath, Bêl-kašir anyone other
24. ana mârûtu ūl ilikkâ’; allik âhî[-šu]  
to sonship shall not take; but his brother
25. [û]    bêt            zîtti-šu            ana mârûtu ana muḥ[hi]  
[and] the lord of his property to sonship concerning
26. [êskēti]            ū NIG-LAG-MEŠ ša ¶ Nadi[nu.....]  
[the incomes] and properties which Nadinu [has bequeathed]
27. [.....] ¶ Bêl-ka]šir mimma(?) .....  
[he shall take. Bêl-ka]šir anything(?) .....

## REVERSE.

1. Pân.....  
Before.....
2. ....
3. ....
4.  .....[abil  Saggil]lâa  
N.,                      his son, who is N.,                      son of Saggillâa
5.  Nergal-.....[abil  Sag]gillâa  
Nergal- ....., his son, who is N.,                      son of Saggillâa
6.  Lâbaši, abli-šu    ša     Dumuk, abil  Saggillâa  
Lâbaši, his son, who (is) Dumuk, son of Saggillâa
7.  Rittu,   Marduk-bêl-irbâ, abli-šu    ša     Šulâ,  
Scribe,                      Merodach-bêl-irbâ, his son, who (is) Šulâ,
8. abil  Ūṣur-âmat- Bêl. Tin-tir ki, ârah Šabaṭi, âmu ḥamiššerit,  
son of Ūṣur-âmat-    Bêl. Babylon, month Sebat, day fifteenth
9. šattu tišīt,  Nabû-na'id,                      šar    Tin-tir ki  
year ninth,    Nabonidus,                      king of Babylon.

## FREE TRANSLATION.

## OBVERSE.

"Bêl-kašir, son of Nadinu, son of Saggillâa, spoke to Nadinu, his father, son of Zêria, son of Saggillâa, thus: 'Thou sentest me to Bit-turnî, and I took Zunnâ as my wife, but she has not borne son or daughter. Let me adopt Bêl-ukîn, son of Zunnâ, child of my wife, whom she bore some time ago to Niḫudu, son of Nûr-Sin, her former husband, and let him be my son; record his adoption on a tablet, and seal and bequeath to him our revenues and our property, all there is, and let him be the child taken by our hands.' Nadinu was not pleased by the words which Bêl-kašir, his son, had said to him. Nadinu had written on a tablet, 'No one whatever, at a future time, is to take their revenue or property;' he had bound the hands of Bêl-kašir, his son, and had stated it in the deed thus: 'When Nadinu goes to his fate, then after him the son proceeding from the loins of Bêl-kašir his son, who shall be born, shall take the incomes and properties of Nadinu his father. If a son proceeding from the loins of Bêl-kašir be not born, Bêl-kašir



shall adopt his brother and rightful heir, and shall bequeath unto him the revenues and properties of Nadinu his father. Bêl-kašir shall not adopt any other whatever, but he shall adopt his brother and rightful heir on account of the revenues and properties which Nadinu [has bequeathed to him]. . . . .”

## REVERSE.

“[Before. . . . .

[N., son of N., son of Saggil]lâa ;

[Nergal- . . . , son of N., son of Sag]gillâa ;

Lâbâsi, son of Dumuk, son of Saggillâa.

Scribe: Marduk-bêl-irbâ, son of Šulâ, son of Ūšur-âmat-Bêl. Babylon, month Sebat, fifteenth day, year ninth, Nabonidus king of Babylon.”

## NOTES ON THE WORDS, ETC.

## OBSERVE.

1. Bêl-kašir, “Bêl binds up.” Nadinu, “He who gives” (most likely an abbreviated name). Saggillâa, a corruption of E-sagilâa, “the Ê-sagilite,” that is, one employed at the temple called Ê-sagila, in Babylon.

3. Bît-turnî, “house of Turnî.” The third character (ni) is doubtful, as there may be only, in reality, one upright wedge, instead of two, intended. If this be the case, we must read Bît-mâr-banî, “the house of the born son,” probably the place where official deeds or declarations of “born-sonship” (mâr-banûtu, a privilege conferred on slaves) were drawn up, or where such slaves as possessed that privilege were registered. For translations of tablets relating to this privilege, see the “Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon,” pp. 94 and 96.

4. tûlûdu. 3d pers. fem. Kal of âlâdu, “to bear,” Heb. יָלַד. Bêl-ukîn, “Bêl has established.”

5. lapanî, Heb. לִפְנֵי. In Assyrian not only “before,” but also “formerly,” “at a former time,” as here.

6. Nikûdu, Heb. נִקְוָא (Friedrich Delitzsch, “Prolegomena,” p. 212). Nûr-Sin, “light of the moon-god,” or “a light is the moon-god.” mutu, “husband,” cf. Heb. מְתִים, “men.”

7. ana mârûtî lakû, “to take to sonship” = “to adopt;” mârûtu, abstract from mârû, “son” (f. mârûtu); lûlkê, 1st pers. Precative Kal of lakû or lekû, Heb. לָקַח.

8. IM DUB, the usual group indicating a sealed tablet. The Semitic transcription is doubtful, but is probably kangû, from the root kanâku, “to seal,” (cf. WAI., V., pl. 32, l. 19 *abc*. By carelessness on the part of the lithographer, kan is printed as i in both lines 18 and 19).

9. tîšab, a very uncommon form, which seems to be the Aorist Kal, 2d pers. sing., with î for û in the first syllable, from âsābu, “to sit;” but which

is probably (judging from its transitive force, and from its being accompanied by the Imperative *kunuk*, line 10) Imperative from a Tiphel conjugation of the same form. Compare the Arabic 5th and 6th forms. *êskēti*, plural of *êsku*, "a (periodical) gift," generally expressed, as here, by the group *giš-šub-ba*.

10. *kunuk*, Imperative Kal of *kanāku*, "to seal," whence *kangu* (for *kanku*), etc. *šudgil*, Imperative Shuphul (IV. 1) of *dagāl*, "to look," then "to look to," "to trust," Shuphul "to entrust to," "bequeath."

11. *kâtîni*, "our hands." The dual is not to be read here, as the phonetic complement *i* shows. The two short upright wedges merely show that the character *šu* has here its common meaning of "hand."

12. *ma nma šanâmma ana lâ lakê*, "any other is not to take," "no other whatever is to take," or "by no other whatever is to be taken." *šanâmma*, Accusative of *šanû*, "other" with suffixed *-ma*. *ana lâ lakê*, "not to take," also "not to be taken," a not uncommon idiom.

14. *NIG-LAG*, lit., "what (= that which) is a gift." *nig* (Akk.) = *mimma*, "something," "anything;" and *lag* = *kurbannu*, "a gift" (cf. Heb. קֶרֶבֶן). The Akkadian *nig* was also weakened to *ni*, *ig*, or *i*, the first and the last being the forms most suited to make compounds, so that the accepted Akkadian reading was probably *nilag* or *ilag*. As, in Babylonian texts, we sometimes find the group *nig-lag* followed by the character *ku*, it is not unlikely that the word was borrowed by them under the form of *nilakku* or *ilakku*. The plural (l. 18) should most likely be (n)ilakkâti.



16. *ittalku*, Pres. or Aor. of the secondary form of the Kal of *âlāku* "to go" (*ittalku* for *italku*). "To go to one's fate" = "to die."

18. *ittamladu* (pronounce *ittawladu*, with consonantal *w*, not with the diphthong *aw*), secondary form of the Niphal of *âlādu* (*'alādu* = *walādu*), Heb. יָלַד.

19. *ilikkî*, Pres. or Fut. Kal of *lakû* (see the note to line 7. This form is given as *ilikkê* at the end of line 21, where, however, it was probably followed by *-ma*).

21. *zîtti* (pl. *zînâte*), noun from the root *zânu*. Cf. Arab. زَان, "to ornament," زَيَّنَ, "to decorate" (houses or walls, with carpet, etc.). Hence, apparently, the Assyrian meaning of "property" for the noun *zîttu*.

## REVERSE.

8. *Ûsur-âmat-Bêl*, "Keep the command of Bêl." The characters   may, however, be read as one of the names of the god Hea (Ea or Ae) in which case his name must be substituted for that of Bêl.

# NOTES ON THE USE OF THE HEBREW TENSES.

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## II.

### HEBREW AND ENGLISH.

Our great debt to German Hebrew scholars is not without its disadvantages. Its necessary indirectness is a misfortune. Our English hand-books, even when not translations or editions of German works, have something of the character of an adaptation, for the use of English students, of an exposition of the theory of Hebrew Syntax prepared for German students, and such an adaptation, however scientifically correct, is apt to lack force and clearness.

German, too, is not the most desirable medium through which to study Hebrew. It is massive, and perhaps somewhat rigid, whereas Hebrew is elastic. For instance, German rejoices in polysyllabic compounds, and Hebrew, except in proper names, has no compounds at all; nor is there anything in the use of the Hebrew verb parallel to the German custom of accumulating auxiliaries at the end of a sentence.

Perhaps, however, the disadvantages of studying Hebrew through German are rather negative than positive. It is not so much that we are misled by Germanisms as that we lose the analogies furnished by our own language, and authorities are not careful to express themselves according to the terms of modern English grammar. They seem to think that modern Hebrew Syntax may be expressed by English Syntax of the times when English was chiefly looked upon as a vehicle for translations of Greek and Latin, and its tenses named after the Greek and Latin tenses they most frequently translated.

Driver, indeed, furnishes us with a beginning of better things; but even here there seems room for improvement under this head.

For instance, he emphasizes (p. 2) the distinction between *order* and *kind* of time, and states (p. 4) that as regards *kind* of time we are by no means sensitive. Now Dr. R. Morris, in his English Grammar (p. 54), having given as the three tenses Past, Present and Future, adds that each tense has four forms, according to the state of the action, viz., Indefinite, Progressive or Imperfect, Completed or Perfect, Perfect and Progressive. This state of the action corresponds to Driver's kind of time. Is it fair to say of a language that expresses kind of time so fully that it is by no means sensitive as regards this quality. True, authors who constructed English Syntax on the basis of Latin grammar, may have lacked sensitiveness in this particular; but then Hebrew grammars are still in use which speak chiefly of the Past and Future.

It follows from this ignoring of the terms of modern English Syntax that the terms "present," "perfect," "imperfect," etc., are used without any closer definition, and vagueness and ambiguity are introduced, where clearness would have been gained by using the double terms which express both order and kind of time. e. g., Present Perfect.

We may first notice that in English in its present form, as in Hebrew, we have only two tense forms obtained by inflection, the Present Indefinite and Past Indefinite. Moreover, the Subjunctive form is now, except in the first and second person singular, identical with the form of the Present Indefinite, just as in Hebrew the same form is used for the Imperfect and for the Jussive. Hence, as Driver (p. 74) points out, there is an ambiguity in English between the Indicative and Subjunctive which serves to illustrate that in Hebrew between the Imperfect and the Jussive. This same coincidence of form between the Indicative and Subjunctive illustrates Driver's contention (pp. 95, 96) that the coincidence of form in the Jussive and the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is accidental. We see that in English the Indicative Present Plural "berath" and the Present Subjunctive "beren" give us in modern English one form, "bear," for both Indicative and Subjunctive (Morris' Historical Outlines of English Accidence, pp. 173, 174), just as, according to Driver, in Hebrew the Imperfect after Waw Cons. and the Jussive arrive at the same form through independent processes of development and not through connection in sense.

We pass on to the

#### USES OF THE PERFECT.

In a previous note we implied that the English Perfect might approximately be held to include the uses of the Hebrew Perfect, as regards the Past, Perfect and Pluperfect, the Hebrew Perfect of affirmation and the Hebrew Perfect used as a Present.

Now Davidson's general table of the uses of the Perfect (p. 51) is as follows:

a. The Aorist (Past)	<i>he killed</i>
b. The Perfect	<i>he has killed</i>
c. The Pluperfect	<i>he had killed</i>
d. The Future Perfect	<i>he shall have killed</i>

Here we may notice that Davidson does not feel it necessary to include in his general sketch the uses of the Perfect as a Present or Future Indefinite.

Again the forms in *b*, *c*, *d* are the three tenses of the English Perfect, thus,

<i>he has killed</i>	Present Perfect
<i>he had killed</i>	Past Perfect
<i>he shall have killed</i>	Future Perfect

Hence it appears that in English this *kind* or *state* of time is fully recognized, and that English grammars include under the English Perfect just those forms which are given in Hebrew grammars as the English equivalents of the Hebrew

Perfect. Herein at least English grammar seems fully sensitive to kind of time. Also under this head we may notice another point. The student as he reads such a sketch as Davidson's is struck with the fact that one Hebrew form may have so many English equivalents, and mentally notes it as a characteristic difficulty of the Hebrew language. The tone of most hand-books on the subject tends to foster this feeling, and doubtless the feeling is largely true. But similar characteristics exist in English, and the difficulty is one of degree rather than of kind.

For instance, in English the form of the Present Perfect, *he has killed*, is used as Aorist, Perfect and Future Perfect.

The best illustration of the use of the Present Perfect for an Aorist or Indefinite Past is perhaps given by those cases in which English idiom compels us to translate a Greek Aorist by a Present Perfect. For instance, in Luke xiv. 18 ἀγρὸν ἡγόρασα, etc., the sense is plainly that of an Aorist, and yet it is scarcely possible to translate in English "I bought a field and therefore I cannot come;" we say rather "I have bought, etc." (Moulton's Translation of Winer, p. 345.)

The use as Perfect or Present Perfect is, of course, the ordinary way.

The Present Perfect form is commonly used for the Future Perfect in such sentences as: "If he has finished his work when you see him, ask him to come here;" which is equivalent to "If he shall have finished, etc."

Even the rarer uses of the Hebrew Perfect have some parallels in those of the English Present Perfect. Take, for instance, Davidson's example of the Perfect of Experience, Ps. lxxxiv. 4, "The swallow finds מְצֵאָה a home," the English Version "hath found" equally expresses a general truth of experience, just as "Nature has provided birds with wings" is as good English as "Nature provides birds with wings."

In the case of stative verbs and verbs like יָדַע it might perhaps be as accurate to say that English uses a Present Indefinite for a Present Perfect, as to say that Hebrew uses the Present Perfect as Indefinite. "I know" = "I have learnt;" "I am old" = "I have become old," and so with many other such words.

Again, in the case of the Prophetic Perfect and Perfect of Strong Affirmation, it is not that a Past tense or Perfect form is used for a Future tense or Imperfect form; but the speaker, as in the case of Ephron the Hittite, wishes to represent the Future or Imperfect as Past or Perfect, and so uses the Past or Perfect, intending it to carry its own meaning. The English student feels the propriety of the Perfect, and feels an English Present Perfect, though not idiomatic, would be perfectly intelligible, and that "I have given" for נָתַתִּי would be a fair equivalent for the English expression used in such cases "It is yours already."

We obtain similar results from examining

#### THE USES OF THE IMPERFECTS.

Davidson's sketch (p. 54) is as follows:

- a. The Present, *he kills* (especially of general truths).
- b. The Imperfect, *he killed* (particularly of repeated past acts).
- c. The Future, *he will kill*.
- d. The Potential, *he may or can, might, could, would, etc., kill*.

It is true that the usages thus given as belonging to the Imperfect "kind of time" do not cover the same area as those of any one English "state of the action;" but curiously enough they have most in common with some of the usages of the forms of the English Indefinite.

Thus the English forms under *a*, *b*, and *c*, are those of the English Present, Past and Future Indefinite respectively. The English Present Indefinite is commonly used of general truths, and we find the Past Indefinite for repeated actions thus: "He got up at six every morning."

Here again many of the meanings included in this group may be expressed by one English form, either the Present Indefinite or the Future Indefinite.

The Present Indefinite is used of course of the present, very commonly of general truths; it is used of past actions whether single or frequentative, as the Historical Present; it is also used of the Future in such sentences as: "Next year my brother comes home." It has already been pointed out that a form sometimes similar to, sometimes identical with the Indicative Present Indefinite is used as a Subjunctive, which would cover some of the uses of *d*. This last resemblance is, however, accidental.

But on the other hand, the Future Indefinite is also used of general truths, and even of a single fact, as: "This will be your brother." It is true that in the latter case, as more or less in other cases of the Future, the usage is more or less due to the influence of the meaning of "will" as an auxiliary; but this does not alter the fact that the same *form* is used for these different senses. Again, of course, the Future Indefinite is used of the Future; and is in some cases equivalent to some of the Potential uses of the Hebrew Imperfect. It is even used of the Past where the main tense of a narrative is the Historical Present. Thus, in Byron's *Siege of Corinth*, stanza xxvi., the tenses are chiefly Historical Presents, but we have two lines:

"There is not a banner in Moslem war  
Will lure the Delhis half so far."

It is true that this usage may be due to the writer placing himself at the point of view of the actors in his narrative; but then a similar explanation might plausibly account for many Hebrew Imperfects.

The use of the Hebrew Imperfect for repeated action in the past finds its parallel in English in the use of the auxiliary "would" (the past of the auxiliary "will") which is used for the future. So that, though the forms for the Future and what we might call the Frequentative Past are not the same in English (as they are in Hebrew), yet they are very closely connected. Thus we

claim that English Syntax is sensitive to and capable of fully expressing the Hebrew kinds of time Perfect and Imperfect; and also that the usages of English forms in different senses closely parallel similar usages of the Hebrew Perfect and Imperfect.

English also affords examples of frequent and rapid change of tense parallel to the changes from Perfect to Imperfect in Hebrew poetry. In English poetry the Historical Present and the Narrative Past alternate pretty frequently with one another.

#### TENSES OF JOSHUA XV.-XIX.

In reading these chapters we are struck by the frequent occurrence of series of Perfects with Waw, where we should have expected either simple Perfects or Imperfects with Waw.

These series occur in the descriptions of the boundaries of the several tribes. The most complete are those in ch. xv. and ch. xviii. 11, and which give the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin. The series in xvi. 1—xvii. 10 giving the boundaries of the sons of Joseph is more broken, and the account seems to have been curtailed. The accounts of the territories of Simeon and Dan are quite different in form, and consist almost entirely of lists of cities. In the cases of Zebulun, Issachar and Asher and Naphtali such tenses as occur are almost entirely Perfects with Waw, but the accounts consist chiefly of bare lists of names, and it is noticeable that in these four accounts two verbs, **שב** and **פגע**, are used freely, though in all the other accounts only **פגע** is found, and that only once in the case of the sons of Joseph.

This account of the division of the land is interrupted by historical episodes in which the usual narrative tenses, the simple Perfect and the Imperfect with Waw Cons., are used. Moreover, at the head of each account stands a verse or more in which narrative tenses occur, and some of the accounts conclude with a note as to the survival of the Canaanites, and here, too, narrative tenses are used. Sometimes a narrative tense, or tenses, will be found in close connection with these series of Perfects with Waw; here and there a simple Imperfect is found.

These series are chiefly made up of the verbs **עלה, ירד, יצא, הלך, היה, שוב, פגע, סבב, עבר**, variously repeated and combined; and an account often closes with the formula **והיו תצאותי**.<sup>1</sup>

The reader feels at once that, as Driver says: "In the teeth of the constant usage in the preceding portion of the book, it is highly improbable that the Perfect and Waw should be a *mere* alternative for **ו**." However, in xv. 4 the clause **זה יהיה לכם גבול נגב** suggests that these series do not properly

<sup>1</sup> The tenses in these chapters are dealt with by Driver at some length on pp. 172, 173; and the references to Driver in this note are to one or other of these pages.

belong to a narrative, but to an address or discourse; that all these tenses, difficult as they are in straightforward narrative, would be quite in place in the text of a decree or law settling the boundaries.

But Driver deprives us of any light or guidance which we might derive from לָכֵן, by setting it down as an undoubted error, arising from a copyist imagining the verb to express a command. He states that the context is entirely out of harmony with such a sense, points out that elsewhere the pronouns are all in the third person and appeals to the LXX. which reads αἰτῶν. The last consideration is not, perhaps, very weighty when we remember that the LXX. is not without a tendency to avoid difficulties by simplifying the text. As to the context, if the whole be narrative and the tenses frequentative, it might be very difficult to take this particular clause or passage as a command; but we shall venture to suggest a theory which would remove or account for this difficulty and possibly also for the solitary second person. It may be noticed as to this second person that there are very few personal pronouns in the clauses in which the Perfects with Waw occur.

One reason on which Driver specially dwells in maintaining that these tenses are frequentative is the occasional occurrence among them of Imperfects; it is obvious that these Imperfects would be perfectly in place if the tenses belonged to a command.

In opposition to this view of Driver we are inclined to follow the suggestion of the לָכֵן (or לָהֵם, if לָכֵם be a false reading of the copyist, who altered לָהֵם into לָכֵם), and to take these tenses as belonging to a command.

We may suppose that the author of the Book of Joshua had before him official documents containing the decrees fixing the boundaries of the tribes, that these decrees naturally ran in Perfects with Waw and Imperfects, "The boundary shall be, etc." The author selected such portions of these documents as were suitable for his purpose, and inserted them in his book, preserving them, possibly out of special reverence and desire for accuracy, in their original form. He found it convenient to append headings and notes, in which, as part of his own narrative, he used narrative tenses; and he may have used some device, such as spacing, where moderns would use inverted commas, to indicate that he was quoting the precise words of his authority. Origen's system of obelisks is a proof that marks within the text are not an exclusively modern idea. It is possible also that to the writer of the Book of Joshua it may have seemed so obvious that these tenses must belong to an address rather than to a narrative, that he may not have thought it necessary to guard against mistake by any mechanical device. That such mechanical device, if used, should be lost sight of and omitted is rendered extremely probable by the history of the text of the Septuagint in its relation to Origen's Hexapla, the double renderings of a single passage being due to the omission of marks which showed such renderings to be alternative.



We allege in support of this theory—

(1) It accounts simply and easily for the tenses in these sections, and explains why, for a few clauses at the beginning and end, and sometimes for what may be an explanatory note in the middle of an account of a tribe's boundaries, we should find narrative tenses, and elsewhere Imperfects and Perfects with Waw. Driver does not explain why, without any change of subject-matter, we change from initial narrative tenses to frequentative ones. Why should the writer always begin to describe a border with narrative tenses and drop off into frequentatives?

(2) This theory also offers us an explanation of the solitary second personal pronoun **לכם**. In the first place, if we separate xv. 1, 2 and the last sentence of xv. 12 on the ground of the occurrence in them of narrative tenses, and confine ourselves to the verses containing the series of Perfects with Waw and Imperfects, this is the only personal pronoun referring to the children of Judah which occurs in the section.

It is thus possible that the document in this particular case may have been derived from some official archives of the tribe of Judah; wherein, as specially intended for the tribe of Judah, the children of Judah might be addressed in the second person.

(3) Many of those sections of the Pentateuch which are devoted to legislation, use the Perfect with Waw almost exclusively, and the second person does not occur in them. Yet these are commands addressed to the people or to Moses as their representative, e. g., Lev. XIII. Hence the style of these sections is the same as that of sections which are undoubtedly devoted to legislation.

(4) The theory that the writer used documents written in a different person to that of his main narrative, may perhaps be slightly supported by the K<sup>thibh</sup> reading **עַר עֲבָרָם** (Q<sup>ri</sup> **עַר עֲבָרָם**) of Josh. v. 1. It is just possible that the writer intended to alter the persons of a narrative in the first person to suit a narrative in the third person, and by oversight left this particular case unaltered.

This supposition does not commit us to the view that the original document was written by a contemporary of the events described. The "us" (**נָּ**) may be used of the nation, as an Englishman might say to-day "We conquered at Waterloo."

(5) There are other cases which do not seem to yield very readily to the ordinary Syntax of the tenses; and in these cases also we can explain the presence of Perfects with Waw, and Imperfects, by assuming the introduction into the narrative of word-for-word quotations from documents possibly well known.

For instance, in Neh. III. 14, 15 there occur some rather difficult tenses, and Driver recommends his readers to examine these for themselves, but does not offer them any help. These verses occur in the account of the building of

the wall. Both the verses begin with simple Perfects and contain a clause with simple Imperfects, in one case two, and in the other, three; the clause with the three Imperfects only differs from the others by the insertion of another word.

Is it possible that here also we have quotations from some document which gave the directions for building as a command, that in the other verses the quotations have been modified, but here for some reason left unaltered?

The theory is now very widely current that many books were composed by a recension and combination of parts of previously existing works. If this is true, it is scarcely possible but that some such accidents as the one assumed above should happen.

The presence of simple Perfects here and there in close connection with Perfects with Waw, e. g., in XIX. 34, may readily be accounted for—

(1) By the close connection with the main series of tenses of what was originally separated as an explanatory note or addition.

(2) By the tendency of copyists to assimilate the tenses to what might seem to them the more natural narrative tenses.

(3) By other errors of copyists.

Thus in XIX. 34 **וּפָגַע בְּיָבֹכֶל מִן הַיָּם וְכָאֲשֶׁר פָּגַע מִן הַיָּם**, the second **פָּגַע** may be an accidental repetition of the first, the **פָּגַע** and the **כָּאֲשֶׁר** may have been transposed at a time when **וּפָגַע** and **פָּגַע....** were used interchangeably, or the original document may have omitted to state the fact as to the border westwards, and the author of the Book of Joshua may have added it.

# OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.

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## III.

### PROVERBS.

VI. 22. "When thou goest, it shall lead thee; when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee; and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee."

"When thou goest, it shall lead thee," in this world; "when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee," in the hour of death; "and when thou awakest in the days of the Messiah, it shall talk with thee," in the world to come.—*Siphre* (ed. Friedmann), p. 74, col. 2.

### ECCLESIASTES.

I. 9. "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun." Rabbi Berachya said in the name of Rabbi Isaac: The last Redeemer will be like the first (Moses), as the first put his wife and his sons upon an ass (Exod. iv. 20), the last one will also ride upon an ass; as the first fed his people with manna (Exod. xvi. 4), so will the last one also bring manna down from heaven (Ps. lxxxii. 16); as the first made rise the well, so will the last one also bring forth water (Joel iii. 18). Thus here is something of which it is said, Behold this is something new; but it has already been.—*Midrash on Ecclesiastes* or *Cohелеth* in loco.

I. 11. "Neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after."

*Targum*: There shall be no memorial of them with the generation which shall be in the days of King Messiah.

VII. 24. "That which is far off, and exceeding deep, who can find it out?"

*Targum*: Behold, now, it is far off from the children of men to know all that has been from the beginning of the days of the world, also the secret of the day of death, and the secret of the day that King Messiah shall come; who is he that shall find it out by wisdom?

XI. 8. "But if a man live many years, and rejoice in them all," etc.

If a man lives many years, let him rejoice in the joy of the law, but let him also remember the days of darkness, for they shall be many; and much as he may have learned, yet it is empty before the teaching of the Messiah.—*Midrash* in loco.

XII. 1. "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not," etc.

Rabbi Hiya, the son of Nehemiah, says, Those days are meant which will be such that there will be neither guilt nor merit.—*Midrash in loco*.

"The evil days" are old age; and "the years" are the days of Messiah, when there will be no merit and no guilt.—*Talmud Shabbath*, fol. 151, col. 2.

SONG OF SOLOMON.<sup>1</sup>

I. 8.—"If thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherd's tent."

*Targum*: The Holy One, blessed be he! said to Moses the prophet, It is required of them that they may do away the captivity, that the assembly which is like to a fair virgin whom my soul loveth, walk in the path of the righteous, that she order the prayers according to the mouth of her princes, that she guide her offspring, and that she teach her sons, who are like to kids of the goats, to go to the house of the congregation, and to the house of inquiry. And in this righteousness they shall be sustained in the captivity until the time that I shall send King Messiah, and he shall conduct them into rest to their dwelling places, namely, to the house of the sanctuary, which David and Solomon and the shepherds of Israel do build for them.

I. 17. "The beams of our house are cedar, and our rafters of fir."

*Targum*: Solomon, the prophet, said: "How beautiful is the House of the sanctuary of the Lord, which is built by my hands, of wood of Gulgish; but far more beautiful will be the house of the sanctuary which shall be built in the days of the King Messiah, the beams of which will be of the cedars of the garden of Eden, and whose rafters will be of cypress, pine and box."

II. 8. "The voice of my beloved; behold, he cometh leaping," etc.

Rabbi Hunya said in the name of Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Jacob, "The voice of my beloved, behold he cometh," this is the King Messiah.—*Midrash in loco*.<sup>2</sup>

II. 9. "My beloved is like a roe or a young hart: behold he standeth behind our wall," etc.

Rabbi Isaac said: As the roe appears and disappears, so also did the first Messiah appear before them and then disappear.... Now as the first Redeemer, so is also the last Redeemer. As the first appeared and disappeared, so likewise the last. And how long will he be hid from them? According to Rabbi Tanchuma in the name of Rabbi Hama, the son of Rabbi Hanina, and according to Rabbi Nehemiah in the name of Rabbi Hoshaya, forty-five

<sup>1</sup> Wherever in the Book of Song of Solomon the name Solomon is mentioned, it applies not to Solomon, but to him who is the peace, excepting viii. 12, [where Solomon speaks of himself.—*Talmud Shevuoth*, fol. 35, col. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The same we find in the *Yalkut* and in the *Pesikta in loco*.

days, as it is said: "And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days" (Dan. xii. 11, 12). And how much are the other days? Forty-five days, in which Messiah will appear and then disappear.—*Pesikta* (ed. Buber) p. 49ab.

II. 10-12. "My beloved spake and said unto me," etc.

"My beloved spake," i. e., through Elijah; "and said unto me" through the King Messiah. What does he say to me? "Rise up, my love, my fair one! for, lo, the winter," i. e., the reign of the Cutheans, who persuaded the world and led it astray by its lies "is past; the rain," i. e., subjection, "is gone and over; the flowers," i. e., the signs of victory, "appear on the earth." Which are they? Rabbi Berachya said in the name of Rabbi Isaac: Those four carpenters (cf. Zech. i. 20), viz., Elijah, King Messiah, Melchizedek and the anointed warrior. "The time of the singing is come," i. e., the time is come to redeem Israel; "and the voice of the turtle," i. e., the voice of the King Messiah, "is heard in our land," which exclaims: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings" (Isa. lii. 7).—*Midrash in loco*; *Pesikta* (ed. Buber), p. 49.

II. 13. "The fig tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell."

Rabbi Hiya bar Abba said: The days of the Messiah will be preceded by a great plague, which will destroy the wicked. "And the vines with the tender grape," etc. This refers to those who are left, as it is said, "He that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem" (Isa. iv. 3).—*Midrash in loco*; *Pesikta*, l. c.

III. 11. "In the day of his espousals and in the day of the gladness of his heart."

This denotes the days of the Messiah, because the Holy One, blessed be he! is likened to a bridegroom, "as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride" (Isa. lxii. 5); "and in the day of the gladness of his heart" refers to the rebuilding of the temple (for it is said): "And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people" (Isa. lxxv. 19).—*Yalkut in loco* (vol. ix. p. 178d).

IV. 5. "The two breasts are like two young roes that are twins," etc.

*Targum*: Two deliverers there shall be to deliver thee, Messiah, Son of David, and Messiah, Son of Ephraim, who are like to Moses and Aaron, the sons of Jochebed, who were as two fair gazelles that are twins.

IV. 16. "Awake, O north wind, and come, thou south."

This refers to King Messiah, who is in a northern region, that he may come and rebuild the sanctuary, which is to be in the south.—*Midrash in loco*.

VI. 10. "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning," etc.

This signifies the redemption of the Messiah. For as, when the morning

rises, the darkness flees before it, so shall darkness fall upon the kingdoms of this world when the Messiah comes. And yet again, as "the sun and moon appear, so will the kingdom of the Messiah also appear."<sup>1</sup>—*Yalkut* in loco, (II., fol. 180, col. 3).

VII. 6. "How fair and how pleasant art thou."

How fair art thou by the exercise of commandments, how pleasant by kindness . . . how fair in good works, how pleasant in this world; how fair in the world to come, how pleasant in the days of the Messiah.—*Midrash* in loco.

VII. 13. "The mandrakes give a smell, and at our gates are all manner of pleasant fruits," etc.

*Targum*: And when it shall please the Lord to redeem his people from captivity, it shall be said to King Messiah, Now the end of the captivity is come, and the righteousness of the righteous smelleth sweet before me, as the smell of balsam.

VIII. 1. "O that thou wert as my brother, that sucked the breasts of my mother," etc.

*Targum*: And at that time shall King Messiah be revealed to the congregation of Israel. Then shall the children of Israel say to him, Come, be thou with us for a brother, and we will go up to Jerusalem, and we will suck with thee the meanings of the law, even as a suckling sucketh the breasts of its mother.

VIII. 2. "I would lead thee, and bring thee into my mother's house, who would instruct me."

*Targum*: I will lead thee, O King Messiah, and I will bring thee to the house of my sanctuary, and thou shalt teach me to fear before the Lord, and to walk in his ways, and there will we keep the feast of Leviathan,<sup>2</sup> and we will drink old wine, which has been reserved in its grapes since the day the world was created, and of the pomegranates, the fruits which are prepared for the righteous in the garden of Eden.

<sup>1</sup> That the morning was looked upon as the emblem of redemption, we see from the following: Rabbi Hiya, the Great, and Rabbi Simeon, the son of Halaphta, once walked together before sunrise in the valley of Arbela, when the hind of the morning announced the dawn of the day. Verily, said Rabbi Hiya to Rabbi Simeon, so is Israel's redemption. It commences little and insignificant, as the prophet says: "When I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me" (Mic. vii. 8), but with increasing power it completes itself (as is seen from the history of Esther, cf. Esth. ii. 19; vi. 11; viii. 15, 16).—*Jerus. Talmud Berachoth*, fol. 2, col. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Jews expect a very sumptuous feast to be made for the righteous in the days of the Messiah, which will consist of all sorts of flesh, fish and fowl. The Jewish liturgy for the feast of Pentecost has the following: "He will certainly bestow on us the portion which he has promised us of old. The sporting of Leviathan with the ox of the high mountains (alluding to the Behemoth), when they shall approach each other and engage in battle. With his horn he thrusts at the mightiest beasts, but the Leviathan will leap towards him with his fins and great strength. His creator will then approach him with his great sword, and will prepare him for a banquet for the righteous, who will be seated at a table formed of jasper and carbuncle, with a river of balm flowing before them. When they will delight themselves and be satiated with the bowls of wine prepared at the creation, and reserved in the wine-press."

## VIII. 4. "I charge you, O daughter of Jerusalem."

*Targum*: King Messiah shall say, I adjure you, O my people of the house of Israel, wherefore do ye contend against the people of the land, (desiring) to go out of captivity? And wherefore do ye rise up against the army of Gog and Magog? Tarry ye a little, till the people be consumed who have gone up to wage war against Jerusalem, and afterwards the Lord of the world will remember unto you the mercies of the righteous, and it shall be pleasure before him to redeem you.

## VIII. 11. "A thousand pieces of silver."

These words refer to the kingdom of heaven.—*Talmud Shebuoth*, fol. 35, col. 2.

## ISAIAH.

## I. 25, 26. "And I will turn my hand upon thee," etc.

Rabbi Simlai said in the name of Rabbi Elieser, the son of Rabbi Simeon: The son of David shall not come till all the judges and rulers in Israel shall have ceased, for it is said: "And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin, and I will restore thy judges."—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1.

## IV. 2. "In that day shall the branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the earth shall be excellent and comely for them that are escaped of Israel."

*Targum*: At that time the Messiah of the Lord shall be for joy and for glory, and the doers of the law for magnificence and for praise, for them that are escaped of Israel."

## VI. 13. "But yet it shall be a tenth, and it shall return," etc.

Rabbi Seira said that Rabbi Jeremiah, the son of Abba, said, In the time in which Messiah shall come, hostilities will increase against the wise men, as it has been said before that Samuel said one suffering after the other, for it is said, "But yet it shall be," etc.—*Talmud Kethuboth*, fol. 112, col. 2.

## VIII. 14. "And he shall be for a sanctuary, and for a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence," etc.

Jehudah and Hezekiah, the sons of Rabbi Hiyah, were sitting at a meal, in the presence of Rabbi, without uttering a word. Give some wine to the boys, exclaimed Rabbi, that they may feel encouraged to say something. When they had drunk the wine, they opened their mouths, and said: The Son of David will not come, until the two patriarchal houses of Israel shall cease, that is, the Head of the captivity in Babylon, and the Prince in the land of Israel; for it is said: "And he shall be for a sanctuary," etc. My children, exclaimed Rabbi, you are thrusting thorns into my eyes. Said Rabbi Hiya, Rabbi,

take it not ill of them; wine is given with seventy,<sup>1</sup> and so is a secret, when the wine comes in, the secret goes out.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 38, col. 1.

- IX. 6. "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon," etc.

Rabbi Samuel, the son of Nachman, said: When Esau met Jacob, he said to him: My brother Jacob, let us walk together in this world. Jacob replied: "Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his servant" (Gen. xxxiii. 14). What is the meaning of "I pray thee, pass over"? Jacob said to him: I have yet to supply the King Messiah, of whom it is said, "Unto us a child is born."—*Midrash on Deuteronomy*, sec. 1 (on chap. ii. 4).

*Targum*: The prophet said to the house of David, For unto us a child is born, to us a son is given, and he shall receive the law upon him to keep it, and his name is called from eternity, Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Continuing for ever, the Messiah; for peace shall be multiplied upon us in his days.

- IX. 7. "Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end," etc. Rabbi Nathan said, "and give thee peace" (Num. vi. 26) means the peace of the government of the house of David, as it is said, "of the increase," etc.—*Midrash on Numbers*, vi. 22, sec. 11; *Siphre* (ed. Friedmann), p. 12, col. 2.

Bar Kapara expounded at Sepphoris: Why is the word לְסוֹבֵב, "the increase," written with a closed mem (the *final* mem מ, and not with the usual mem מ)? The Holy One, blessed be he! wished to make Hezekiah the Messiah, and Sennacherib Gog and Magog. But the attribute of judgment pleaded against it, and said, David the king of Israel repeated so many songs and praises, and thou hast not made him the Messiah; and yet thou art thinking of making Hezekiah the Messiah, for whose sake so many miracles have been performed, and who, nevertheless, has not repeated one song of praise! So that counsel was closed (and hence the closed mem).—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 94, col. 1.

- X. 27. "And it shall come to pass in that day that his burden shall be taken away," etc.

*Targum*: And it shall come to pass... and the people shall be broken before Messiah.

- XI. 1. "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots."

*Targum*: And there shall go forth a king from the sons of Jesse, and Messiah shall be anointed from his children's children. See also Ps. cx. 2.

- XI. 2. "And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and," etc.

<sup>1</sup> The word "wine" is in Hebrew יין, which has the numerical value (i. e., י=50+י=10+י=10) of seventy, so also the word "secret," i. e., סוד: ס=4+ד=6+ס=60, =70.



Concerning the Messiah it is written : " And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 93, col. 2. See also Gen. i. 2.

- XI. 3. " And shall make him of quick understanding (or scent) in the fear of the Lord, and he shall," etc.

On this the Talmud remarks : Rabbi Alexander says : The word וְהָיָה (i. e., his scent) teaches us that the Holy One has laden the Messiah with commandments and sufferings which were as heavy as millstones . . . Bar Coziba reigned two years and a half, and he told the Rabbis that he was the Messiah. They replied, It is written of Messiah that he would scent out the good ; canst thou do the same ? When they saw that he could not do it, they slew him.—*Sanhedrin*, fol. 93, col. 2.

- XI. 6. " The wolf shall also dwell with the lamb."

*Targum* : In the day of Israel's Messiah, peace shall be multiplied on earth.

- XI. 10. " And in that day there shall be a record."

Cf. Gen. XLIX. 10.

- XIV. 29. " Rejoice not thou, whole Palestina, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken, for out of the serpent's root shall come forth a cockatrice," etc.

*Targum* : Rejoice not . . . for from the children's children of Jesse shall proceed Messiah, and his works shall be among you as flying serpents.

- XVI. 1. " Send ye the lamb to the ruler of the land," etc.

*Targum* : They will bring tributes to the Messiah of Israel.

- XVI. 5. " And in mercy shall the throne be established."

Then Israel's Messiah shall establish his throne in mercy.

- XVIII. 5. " He shall both cut off the sprigs with pruning-knives," etc.

Rabbi Hama, the son of Hanina, said : The Son of David will not come until the despicable government be destroyed from Israel ; for it is said : " And he shall cut off the sprigs with pruning-knives," and it is also written further on : " In that time shall the present be brought unto the Lord of hosts of a people scattered and peeled " (*ibid.* v. 7).—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1.

- XXI. 11, 12. " The burden of Dumah. He called to me out of Seir, Watchman, what of the night ? Watchman, what of the night ? The watchman said, the morning cometh," etc.

Rabbi Hanina, the son of Rabbi Abuhu, said in the codex of Rabbi Meïr, I found " the burden of Dumah " written " burden of Rome." Rabbi Joshua ben Levi said : When one asks you : Where is your God ?—answer : In the great city of Rome ; for it is said : " He calleth to me out of Seir." Rabbi Simeon, the son of Yochai, said : Wherever the Israelites were banished, the Shechinah was banished with them. They were banished into Egypt, and the Shechinah was banished with them, and this is the meaning of " Did I plainly appear unto the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt in Pharaoh's house ? " (1 Sam. II. 27). They were banished to Babylon, and so

also the Shechinah, for it is written: "For your sake I have sent to Babylon" (Isa. XLIII. 14). They were banished to Media, and so the Shechinah, "And I will set my throne in Elam" (Jer. XLIX. 38), where Elam means Media, as it is said: "And I was at Shushan in the palace which is in the province of Elam" (Dan. VIII. 2). They were banished to Greece, and so the Shechinah, as it is said: "And I raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece" (Zech. ix. 13). They were banished to Rome, and so the Shechinah, as it is said: "He calleth me out of Seir, Watchman, what of the night?" The Israelites said to Isaiah: Isaiah, our master, what shall yet happen to us from this night? Wait, he replied, I will inquire. Having inquired, he returned to them and they asked again: "Watchman, what of the night? watchman, what of the night?" He replied, "The watchman said, the morning cometh." And night too? Yes, but not so as you think, replied he; the morning comes for the righteous and the night for the wicked, the morning for the Israelites and the night for the idolaters. They said to him, When? He replied: When ye seek (God), he seeks you too, as it is said: "If ye will enquire, enquire ye." They said to him, What keeps the morning back? He replied, Repentance; for it is said: "Return, come."—*Jer. Tannith*, fol. 64, col. 1. What is the meaning of "It is a night to be much observed"? (Exod. XII. 42). (A night) in which God did great things to the righteous, as he did great things to the Israelites in Egypt. In that night he saved Hezekiah; in that night he saved Hananiah and his associates; in it he saved Daniel from the lion's den, and in that same night the Messiah and Elijah will prove themselves as great, as it is said: "The watchman said, the morning cometh, and also the night" (Isa. XXI. 12).—*Midrash on Exod.* XII. 41; sec. 18.

XXIII. 15. "According to the days of one king."

What king is this that is singled out as one? Thou must say, This is the King Messiah, and no other.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 99, col. 1.

XXIV. 23. "Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed."

Why the pleonastic *waw* (in "and his offering" וְקִרְבָּנוֹ, Num. VII. 13)? Rabbi Bibi said in the name of Rabbi Reuben, This refers to the six things which were taken from the first man, but which return again with an offspring of Nahshon, which is the Messiah. These things are: his splendor, life, stature, the fruits of the earth, the fruits of the tree, and the light. His splendor, for it is said: "Thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away" (Job XIV. 20); his life, for it is said: "For dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" (Gen. III. 19); his stature, for it is said: "And Adam hid himself" (Gen. III. 8); the fruits of the earth and the fruits of the tree, for it is said: "Cursed is the ground for thy sake" (Gen. III. 17); the lights, for it is said: "Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed."—*Midrash on Numbers* VII. 13; sec. 18.

XXV. 8. "He will swallow up death in victory, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces."

On the festivals of the new moon, of dedication, and of purim, the mourning women may wail aloud and may clap the palms of their hands together, but must not sing funeral dirges; but when the corpse is interred, they must neither wail aloud, nor sing dirges. . . But of the future ages that are to come, it is said: "He shall swallow up death in victory, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces."—*Talmud Moed Katon*, fol. 28, col. 2.

In this world we are given up to death on account of our sins, but in the world to come "he will swallow up death in victory," etc.—*Siphra in Yalkut on Leviticus*, xxiv. 31.

The ninth sign of the coming of the Messiah will be that death will cease, as it is said: "He will swallow up death in victory," etc.—*Midrash on Exod.* xii. 12; sec. 15.

XXVII. 13. "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the great trumpet shall be blown," etc.

This passage is quoted in connection with the future deliverance.—*Talmud Rosh ha-Shanah*, fol. 11, col. 2.

The rabbis have taught: The ten tribes have no portion in the world to come; for it is said: "And the Lord rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation" (Deut. xxix. 28). "And he rooted them out of their land," that is, from this world; "and cast them into another land," that is, the world to come. The words of Rabbi Akiva, Rabbi Simeon, the son of Jehudah of the village Acco, said in the name of Rabbi Simeon, If their designs continue as they are this day, they will not return; but if not, they will return. Rabbi says, they will enter the world to come; for it is said: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the great trumpet shall be blown," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 110, col. 2.

The Holy One, blessed be he! said: In this world I gave my law with the sound of a trumpet, but in the future I will gather your exiles with the sound of a trumpet, as it is said: "And it shall come to pass in that day," etc.—*Yalkut on Num.* x. 2.

XXVIII. 5. "In that day shall the Lord of hosts be for a crown of glory."

*Targum*: In that time shall the Messiah of the Lord of hosts be a crown of joy.

## THE PASSIVE OF QAL.

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Should I ever edit a Hebrew grammar, I would set down as one of the paradigms of the verb, on an equal footing with the others, a Passive of the Qāl—standing in the same relation to it, as Pū'āl stands to Pī'el and as Hōph'āl stands to Hīph'il.

The current teaching on the subject is, that, in biblical Hebrew, this Passive no longer exists, except in the Participle פֶּעוּל, but that its Preterit and Future are lost. Until Jules Oppert proved the contrary, it was also thought that the Nunnation, and the end-vowels for case and mood were not to be found in biblical Hebrew; but we find them now in numerous places even in the vowelizing of the Massorites, and can never know in how many other places those gentlemen, in their zeal for a uniform grammar, suppressed them. They left the endings only where the letter of the text, aside from any vowelizing, compelled them to do so.

It is the same with the Passive Qāl. There is a small number of verbs in which (although there is no Pī'el or Hīph'il) Pū'āl and Hōph'āl forms are used in the Passive sense, or in which these conjugations have not the sense of which the Passive is sought to be conveyed. The foremost of these words is לָקַח. There is no room either for an *intensive* or for a *causative*, of the verb “to take.” Yet we find the Future יִקַּח and the Preterit לָקַח; the former classed as Hōph'āl, the latter, though without the Dāghēš, as Pū'āl, without any substantial reason why two conjugations should be chosen to furnish the two tenses. A glance at an Arabic grammar suggests the answer to the riddle; both forms are Qāl in the Passive. The form usually employed in Hebrew to denote the Passive is Nīph'āl; but the letters of the text would in neither case lend themselves to Nīph'āl; in the Future the loss of the ל precludes the reading יִלְקַח. From the root נָתַן, we find in like manner יָתַן which has no sense as a Hōph'āl, but is a Passive Qāl, by the side of נָתַן; yet we do not find נָתַן in the Preterit, probably because the letters might just as well be read נָתַן.

In like manner we have יָקַם “will be avenged”—a so-called Hōph'āl, without a corresponding Hīph'il—and יָלְדָה a pretended Pū'āl, “she was born,” where the Pī'el יָלַד would furnish an improper meaning, it being applied only to the act of midwifery. That לָקַח is the only word which has its Passive assigned to two conjugations, other than Nīph'āl, arises from the circumstance that in this word alone a letter other than נ is elided in the Future; hence it is the only word in which the letters cannot in either tense be vowelized so as to produce a Nīph'āl.

One who takes the trouble will find a number of other passages, and of other verbs, beside the four roots (לָקַח, נָתַן, נָקַם, יָלַד) that I have named. After the Massorites had taken up the arbitrary notion that there must not be a short ŭ or ǝ in an open syllable, the Dāghēšh in יָלַד and the pretense of a Pū'āl followed as a necessity. A more rational system of vowelizing than that which grew up on the corrupt pronunciation of Galilee, would show a much closer kinship between Hebrew grammar and that of classic Arabic, than the Massora discloses, though even there it may be read between the lines.

## ➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

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**Diquq.**—The word דִּקְדִּיק is derived from the root דִּקְדַּק which signifies to beat small, to crush, to pulverize, whence the noun דֶּק a thin covering, a veil, and the adjective דֶּק fine, thin, small, subtle, etc. Although the verb itself, and its cognates and derivatives, are classical Hebrew, yet the term דִּקְדִּיק is altogether of rabbinical origin. In a figurative sense, the verb signifies to discuss, to be exact, or accurate, to analyze, separate, refine, criticise, the noun importing disquisition, accuracy, or exactness. Buxtorf, in his lexicon, defines דִּקְדִּיק thus, "*Subtilis et accurata disquisitio, grammatica.*" The term was appropriated by the Jewish doctors of the Middle Ages to designate *grammar*, and has been applied to that department of scientific study by the Jewish grammarians ever since. "Grammar," says G. J. Vossius, "is called by the rabbis דִּקְדִּיק, that is *subtilitas*, because it treats accurately, and in a refined manner, with utmost precision, the letters, points, inflections, and entire nature and constitution of words in the Hebrew language." So Buxtorf, "Grammar is the *ars bene loquendi Hebrais, hebraice*. In Hebrew, it is called דִּקְדִּיק." Whoever has studied Hebrew critically, in such grammars as those of Gesenius, Freytag, Hupfeld, Ewald, Stier, Nordheimer, Nägelsbach, or Green, or has been able to read the grammars of Chayug, Kimchi, or Ben Zeeb, will be at no loss to discover the remarkable propriety of the application of the rabbinical term to the critical and philosophical structure of the language, its phenomena, and laws. The term itself also reveals the wonderful critical spirit with which the mediæval Hebrew doctors set about the institution of grammatical science, so far as relates to the holy tongue. It acquaints us with the nature of their study, refined, incisive, exact, examining, with shrewdness and care, the letters and words of the language, their origin, nature, inflection, structure, and relations. This was the charm that constantly engaged their attention, since the era of the Massorite leaders, who, for the most part, contented themselves with the more elementary beginnings of grammatical science, such as connecting the letters, affixing the points and accents, noting the agreement or difference of words, as also their various writing, but not advancing, as did the mediæval scholars, to an observation of the genius of the language, describing its phenomena, ascertaining its laws, anomalies, and analogies, investigating its sources, or causes, and kindred relations, or gathering from the language itself whatever might make for the more sure interpretation of the Sacred Books. The men of the Massora, בְּעֵלֵי הַמִּסּוֹרָה, did great service, in their labor to establish a correct text, giving, in doubt-

ful cases, both קרי and בתיב, and by their system of pointing, preserving a true pronunciation, as, by their system of accents, not only indicating the tone-syllable, dividing the sentence, regulating the cantillation, and transmitting, in many important cases, the traditional interpretation, thus imparting great precision to the language, and making succeeding ages debtors to their toil. But their work, in comparison with that of the doctors of דקדוק, was rather that which a Priscian and Aristarchus would have called by the name "*Grammatica*," not "*Grammatica*." The work, on the other hand, of the noble Jewish scholars, beginning with the Karaite doctors in their contest with the Talmudists, exalted the treatment of the Hebrew language to the dignity of a true science, just such a critical and philosophical דקדוק as the language required. Alting, in his admirable Grammar of the Punctuation of the Holy Tongue, has aptly said, "This is a firm persuasion in my mind, that only then will Hebrew grammar come to be a true דקדוק, *Subtilitas*, when the various reasons of it, and of its pointing, are deduced from the fundamental principles of the language itself,"—an anticipation of the triumphs of more modern times.

Leopold Dukes informs us, in a foot-note to a passage in his *Literaturhistorische Mittheilungen*, that, in the Talmud, there is no distinct technical expression for the word *grammar*. The application of the words דקדוק and מְדַקְדֵּק, the former to *grammar*, the latter to *grammarian*, is of later date. The words are indeed found in the Talmud, but are used simply to signify "to observe with scrutiny," or "to consider accurately," or "observe exactness"—(*Genauigkeit beobachten*) and, in this sense, are employed to designate the faithful following, or followers, of the Mosaic commandments. Subsequently, the term מְדַקְדֵּק came to signify the Hebrew punctator, because of the accuracy required in pointing the text. Dukes also informs us that Rabbi Menahem Ben Seruq was the first Jewish author in whom the expressions דקדוק הלשון for grammar, and מְדַקְדֵּק הלשון for grammarians, of the Holy Tongue, are found. All that is meant, evidently, by this is that, antecedently to Menahem, the term דקדוק was not used in combination with the other, a statement supported by abundant evidence drawn from the preceding treatises on grammatical science. The title of Saadia's "Grammatical Works" is מְלַאכֶת הַדְּקָדוּק. The title of one of Rabbi Jonah Ben Giannach's book is *Kitab Al-Luma*, which Ewald renders *Buch der Untersuchung* (*Book of Investigation*) and substantially equivalent to דקדוק. So Munk in his interesting papers in the *Asiatic Journal*, 1851, p. 425, gives the title and explanation of Saadia's work "*Kitab Al-Luma*, c'est-a-dire *Livre du Diquduq*, mot hébreu dont le sens est examen, recherche, et signifie faire des recherches dans la langue." The title given by Aben Ezra to his Hebrew translation of Chayug's grammatical works is סִפְרֵי דְּקָדוּק *Books of Grammar*, and Chayug himself is denominated הַמְדַּקְדֵּק הָרִאשׁוֹן *the Chief Grammarian*, and ראש המְדַקְדָּקִים *Chief of Grammarians*. The title of Aben Ezra's own work on grammar is simply

דְּקִדּוּקִים which would be appropriately translated by *Grammaticæ Variorum*. More evidence of the same sort could be adduced from the works of Rashi<sup>1</sup> and Kimchi. Bartolucci mentions an anonymous Hebrew grammar, found in the Vatican Library, with the title דְּקִדּוּק לְשׁוֹן קוֹדֶשׁ *Grammar of the Holy Language*. Not a few Christian writers on Hebrew grammar have, in imitation of the Hebrew doctors, published their own works under the Hebrew title. This brief notice of *Diqduq* may serve to satisfy the justifiable curiosity of students, or beginners in the study, of the Hebrew language, who may have met with the word unexplained, and desire to know something of its origin and history. It is a synonym for "Scientific Grammar." Kimchi, at the close of his *Michlol*, has a verse which is quoted by both Buxtorf and Bythner, in their grammars, in which the word occurs; a verse containing excellent advice to all students. We subjoin it, for the benefit of such. It is a little sermon.

אֲשֶׁר לָמַד וְתוֹרָה לוֹ לִקְנֶיךָ  
וְלֹא לָמַד יְסוֹר דְּקִדּוּק וְלֹא בֶן  
כְּמוֹ חוֹרֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר יִנְהֵן שְׂנֵאִים  
וְיָדוּ מִבְּלִי מִלָּמַד וְדִרְבָּן

which, in Latin dress, appears thus,—

Qui discit, et lex ei (est) in possessionem,  
Et non discit fundamenta *Diqduq*, neque intelligit,  
(Est) sicut arator qui agit boves,  
Et manus ejus (est) sine baculo aut stimulo.

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**Notes on Malachi.**—MAL. I. 3.—The Revisers well translate תְּנוּת *jackals* instead of *dragons*, as Luther (*Drachen*) and the Authorized Version have it. The Septuagint has *ὄματα ἐρήμου dwellings of the desert*. DeWette, and Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, still translate "domicilia, mansiones;" but Ewald (*Gram.*, § 175b), Köhler, Stier, and others, regard תְּנוּת as a feminine form used here instead of the more common תְּנִים, from the sing. תֵּן *wolf, jackal*, or a similar animal. The preposition לְ can be more readily explained if we translate "jackals," not "habitations."

I. 9.—We prefer the margin, "From your hand" to the text of the Revision, "By your means." The context is: "Entreat God's favor [looking, at the same time, at the polluted offerings which God received from your hands]—will he accept any of your persons?" Compare verse 13, מִיָּדְכֶם, which the Revisers there translate "of your hands."

<sup>1</sup> Not Rashi the Commentator, but Rashi the Grammarian, Jarchi.



II. 3.—“I will rebuke the seed.” Some ancient versions translate “I will curse for you the arm,” reading **הָרַע** instead of **הָרַע**. Among German critics Ewald, Reinke, Köhler, and even Keil, accept the change. The thought would then be: The priest raises his arm to bless the people; but the Lord curses it,—yea, does more, strews dung into the faces of the officiating priests, dishonoring them. Yahweh exercises *jus talionis*: they have despised him; now he treats them with contempt.

II. 12.—**עַר וְעֵנָה** the Revisers translate “him that waketh and him that answereth.” It seems to me that the use of “waketh” does not make it clear whether the Revisers thought **עַר** was transitive or intransitive. **עַר** signifies a person who is awake. Hitzig has well said that because a man is an **עַר** he is not of necessity a **שֹׁמֵר**. Delitzsch (in his “Lectures”) translates “him that is awake and him that answereth.” He does not regard the words as correlated poles (as, for example, “head and tail”), but as the signification of one human being; otherwise, we might expect **קָרָא** or **שִׁמַּר**.

II. 15.—We prefer the margin, “And not one hath done so, who had a residue of the spirit,” to the text. The Israelites refer, it seems to me, in their thoughts, to Abraham, who disowned Hagar, and sent her away; they regard him as also having acted treacherously, that is, as having broken the covenant made with Hagar. But the prophet answers, The one you think of hath not done so. Now follows **וְכֵּן הָאֱלֹהִים** “and what has he done?” (**עָשָׂה** is implied). “He sought the seed of God.” Thus we would translate, in preference to the reading of the Revisers, “And did he not make one?”

CONCLUSION.—The Hebrew student will find, in the Hebrew Bible, an addition to the text after III. 24. There the words **יִתְקַן סִימָן** are found. The letters **יִתְקַן** stand for **יִשְׁעִיהוּ** *Isaiah*, **תְּרִי עֵשֶׂר**, scroll of the minor prophets, **קִינֹת** *Threni*, and **קֹהֶלֶת** *Kohleth*. These have a special sign, namely, **סִימָן**. In the synagogue, the verse preceding the last verse of these books or scrolls was to be repeated, because the last verse sounded too harsh. Isaiah closes with “For their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh;” but in the synagogue verse 23 was repeated after verse 24, “to close with words of comfort.” Thus also here in Malachi and in the other books mentioned.

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**Abraham Firkowitsch.**—The article entitled “Writing among the Hebrews,” which Professor H. L. Strack contributed to the July number of *HEBRAICA*, possesses a peculiar interest to students. I have especially noted his comments on the manuscripts unearthed in the Crimea by Abraham Firkowitsch, and which Professor Strack—in opposition to Professor D. Chwolson—asserts were forgeries. With the main argument, in this particular case, I am not entirely familiar; but

it seems passing strange that many of the best scholars of our century had faith in Firkowitsch, and considered his discoveries genuine, and of a highly valuable character. His "finds" were, besides, the means of introducing to the world of letters an author whose fame rests principally on his works concerning the history and literature of the Karaites, based upon these same writings which Firkowitsch claimed to have found, as narrated above. I refer to Simcha Pinsker, the learned Galician, whose **לְקוּטֵי קַדְמוֹנִיּוֹת** ("Collection from the Days of Old"), a ponderous volume, devoted to the Karaites, their origin and religious development as Jewish schismatics, is recognized as *the* book on the subject. Pinsker's enthusiasm over Karaism knew no bounds; and while some of his conclusions appear rather problematical, it is hard to believe, in view of all the attending circumstances, that Firkowitsch wilfully perpetrated, or even countenanced, the monstrous forgeries with which he is charged.

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**Mr. Bennett's Articles on the Hebrew Tenses.**—The outline of these articles, one of which appeared in the July *HEBRAICA*, the second appearing in this number, will be of practical aid especially to beginners in the study of Hebrew. The principal works referred to in these articles are

- (1) Davidson's "Hebrew Grammar;"
- (2) Robertson's "Translation of Müller's Outlines of Hebrew Syntax;"
- (3) Driver's "Use of the Tenses in Hebrew;"
- (4) Morris' "Historical Outlines of English Accidence," and
- (5) Morris' "English Grammar" (series of *Literature Primers*).

#### PART I.

1. *The Actual Usage of the Tenses in the Hexateuch compared with statements in Grammars.*

2. *Statements of Grammars:*

- (1) Their relation to the old theory of the tenses;
- (2) Their want of clearness as to the differences of style in poetry and prose;
- (3) Their subjection to German influence.

3. *The Occurrences and Usage of the Tenses in the Hexateuch; Deductions as to Usage; Examination of Exceptional Cases.*

4. *The Sequence of the Tenses* (with special reference to the Imperfect with Waw Cons.):

- (1) Statements of grammars;
- (2) Way in which they would naturally be understood;
- (3) Tested by the usage of the Hexateuch;
- (4) Deductions;

- (5) Attempt to construct theory on the basis of these results;
- (6) Objections to statements of grammars; Résumé.

## PART II.

1. *Hebrew and English:*

- (1) German indirect and unsuitable medium of Hebrew knowledge;
- (2) Modern system of English syntax ignored;
- (3) Two simple tense-forms in Hebrew and English;
- (4) Ambiguity as to use of one of these in both languages;
- (5) In each language same form in two different uses differently derived.

2. *Uses of the Perfect:*

- (1) Hebrew Perfect includes the uses of the tenses of the English Perfect;
- (2) Uses of the form of the English Present Perfect include most of the uses of Hebrew Perfect.

3. *Uses of the Imperfect:*

- (1) The uses of the Hebrew Imperfect include the uses of the tenses of the English Indefinite;
- (2) The uses of the form of the English Indefinite Present include most of those of the Hebrew Imperfect;
- (3) The same true of the English Future Indefinite;
- (4) Summary;
- (5) Alternation of tenses.

4. *Tenses of Joshua xv.—xix.:*

- (1) Statement of facts;
- (2) According to Driver, tenses frequentative;
- (3) Theory that sections are direct quotations from documents containing decrees.

**An Examination on Psalms XL.—LXXII.**—That our readers may gain a general idea of what an examination in “Old Testament Exegesis” means in England, we subjoin the “paper” of such an examination on Psalms XL.—LXXII., as conducted by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne. The last requirement, namely, the translation, with notes, of a passage of which the pointed text is given, is here omitted.

1. Mention any Psalms in this section which, on internal grounds, may be regarded as of post-Davidic origin. Are there any which, perhaps, point to a Maccabean date? On what grounds has this been held? How does the question stand related to the history of the formation of the Canon?
2. “Secular poems pressed into the service of religion.” To which Psalm may this description apply? If you accept it, can you justify the admission of the Psalm into the Psalter?
3. “Hath brought life and immortality to light.” Illustrate the *φωτίσαντος* of 2

Tim. i. 10 from the Psalms in this section, tracing out the presentiments of the Psalmist.

4. Give any one view of the circumstances under which Psalm LXVIII. may have been written; trace the connection, so far as it is clear, of the Psalm; and illustrate from it the practice of interweaving phrases from the older Scriptures.
5. Translate, with a few brief grammatical or exegetical notes:—

(a) אֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי הִנֵּה-בָאתִי בְּמַגֶּלֶת-סֵפֶר בְּתוֹב עָלַי :  
 לַעֲשׂוֹת רְצוֹנֶךָ אֱלֹהֵי חַפְצָתִי וְתוֹרָתְךָ בְּתוֹךְ מַעֲי :  
 (b) יִפֶּה נוֹף מְשׁוֹשׁ כָּל-הָאָרֶץ הֶרֶץ-צִיּוֹן יִרְכָּתִי צִפּוֹן קִרְיַת מֶלֶךְ רֹב :  
 (c) נִתְּתָה לִירְאִיֶּךָ גַם לְהִתְנוֹסֵס מִפְּנֵי קִשְׁשׁ סֵלָה :  
 (d) אַחַת וּדְבָר אֱלֹהִים שְׁתִּים-וָאוֹ שָׁמַעְתִּי כִי עוֹ לְאֱלֹהִים :  
 וְלֶךְ-אֲדֹנִי חֶסֶד כִּי-אַתָּה וְתִשְׁלֵם לְאִישׁ כְּמַעֲשָׁהוּ :  
 (e) פָּקַדְתָּ הָאָרֶץ וַתִּשְׁקָקָה רַבַּת תַּעֲשֶׂנָּה פֶּלַג אֱלֹהִים מָלֵא מַיִם תְּכִין  
 דָּגָם כִּי-כֵן תְּכַנֶּנָּה : תִּלְמִיָּה רַחֵם נַחֵם גְּדוּדָה בְּרִבְכֵּם חֲמוּנֵגְנָה  
 צִמְחָה וְתִבְרָךְ :  
 (f) וַיְחִי וַיָּתֵן-לוֹ מִזֶּהב וַיִּתְּפֹלֶל בְּעֶרְוֹ תָמִיד כָּל-הַיּוֹם יִבְרַכְנָהוּ :  
 יְהִי פֶסֶת-בֵּר וּבְאָרְץ בְּרָאשׁ הָרִים יִרְעַשׁ בְּלִבָּנוֹן פָּרִיו וַיִּצְיָצֵוּ מַעֲיִר  
 כַּעֲשֵׁב הָאָרֶץ :

6. Point and translate, with notes grammatical or exegetical, where required:—

שִׁיר מְזִמּוֹר לְבִנְיָקֶרֶח : גְּדוֹל יְהוָה וּמַהֲלֵל מְאֹד בַּעִיר אֱלֹהֵינוּ הֶרֶב-  
 קִדְשׁוֹ : יִפֶּה נוֹף מְשׁוֹשׁ כָּל-הָאָרֶץ הֶרֶץ-צִיּוֹן יִרְכָּתִי צִפּוֹן קִרְיַת מֶלֶךְ רֹב :  
 אֱלֹהִים בְּאַרְמְנוֹתֶיהָ נֹדַע לְמִשְׁגַּב : כִּי-הִנֵּה הַמְּלָכִים נֹעְדוּ עִבְרוּ יַחְדָּו :  
 חֲמָה רָאוּ כֵן תִּמְהוּ נִבְהִלוּ נַחֲפָזוּ : רַעְדָה אַחֲזוֹתָם שֵׁם חֵיל כִּי־לֹדָה :  
 בְּרוּחַ קָדִים תִּשְׁבֵּר אֲנִיּוֹת תְּרִישִׁישׁ : כֹּאשֶׁר שָׁמַעְנוּ כֵן רָאִינוּ בַּעִיר-יְהוָה  
 צְבָאוֹת בַּעִיר אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהִים יִכּוֹנֵנָה עַד-עוֹלָם סֵלָה : דְּמִינוּ אֱלֹהִים  
 חֶסֶדךָ בִּקְרֹב הִיכַלְךָ : כִּשְׁמֹךְ אֱלֹהִים כֵּן תִּהְלֹתְךָ עַל-קְצוֹי-אָרֶץ צִדֵּק  
 מִלֵּאָה יִמִּינְךָ : יִשְׁמַח הֶרֶץ-צִיּוֹן תִּגְלָנָה בְּנוֹת יְהוּדָה לְמַעַן מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ :  
 סְבוּ צִיּוֹן וְהִקִּיפוּהָ סִפְרוּ מִגְדְּלֶיהָ : שִׁיתוּ לְבַבְכֶּם לְחִילָה פִּסְגוֹ אַרְמְנוֹתֶיהָ  
 לְמַעַן תִּסְפְּרוּ לְדוֹר אַחֲרָיו : כִּי זֶה אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֵינוּ עוֹלָם וְעַד הוּא יִנְהַגְנוּ  
 עַל-מוֹת :

7. Point and translate, with notes grammatical or exegetical, where required:—

כי לא-אויב יחרפני ואשא לא-משנאי עלי הגדיל ואסתר ממנו :  
 ואתה אנוש כערבי אלופי ומידעי : אשר יחדו נמתיק סוד בבית אלהים  
 נהלך ברגש : ישימות עלמיו ירדו שאול חיים כי-רעות במגורם בקרבם :  
 אני אל-אלהים אקרא ויהוה ישיעני : ערב ובקר וצהרים אשיחה  
 ואהמה וישמע קולי : פרה בשלום נפשי מקרב-לי כי-ברבים היו עמדי :  
 ישמע אל ויענם וישב קדם סלה : אשר אין חליפות למו ולא יראו  
 אלהים : שלח ידיו בשלמיו חלל בריתו :

## → EDITORIAL NOTES. ←

**A New Volume.**—With this number *HEBRAICA* enters upon its third volume. As in the case of its companion-journal, *The Old Testament Student*, the difficulties in the way of its success have been many. Nor have they all been overcome. It is true, however, that the outlook is brighter than it has ever before been; and it is believed that, if those interested in Semitic study will but lend the aid which ought reasonably to be expected of them, the assured continuance of the journal would quickly follow. But what, it will be asked, is the nature of the service asked of them? The answer is two-fold: (1) *Contributions for publication*, written in the line to which the journal is devoted, and with the aim which it seeks to serve. It is not an easy task to secure just the class of contributions which will accomplish the end sought. (2) *Assistance in increasing the circulation* of the journal. This is a matter of prime importance. If it is to do a work in the interest of Hebrew and Semitic study, *HEBRAICA* must reach those who are already interested in such study and also those who, perhaps, may be led to become interested in it. If it is to continue, it must receive a sufficient financial support to make continuance possible. The progress in both of these particulars during the year just past has been noteworthy. A similar progress for another year or two will practically settle the question. May not the Managing Editor of *HEBRAICA* hope to receive from the friends of Semitic study in America and England such substantial aid as will make it possible to issue the journal this year without financial loss.

**The Present Number.**—We have before referred to the difficulty experienced in finding material worthy of publication in *HEBRAICA*, which would, at the same time, be of practical and immediate value to that large class of our constituency, comparative beginners in Semitic work. This number, we are persuaded, accomplishes this end, as perhaps no previous number has done. Mr. Pinches' valuable paper will be appreciated only by Assyriologists; but the student who has read only the first chapter of Genesis, as well as the professional scholar, will be interested in the clear and sharp presentation by Mr. Bennett of what may well be called the most practical question in Hebrew Syntax. Prof. Green's paper in the line of critical inquiry, and Dr. Pick's in that of Jewish interpretation, will, likewise, be found full of interest to both student and scholar. The "Contributed Notes," also, include topics of general as well as of special interest.

We desire our readers to understand the double stand-point from which *HEBRAICA* must be edited, viz., that of the student, as well as that of the professional Semitist. We trust that we may be able to satisfy both classes of our constituency.

**Dr. Jastrow's Dictionary.**—We notice with pleasure the prospectus of "A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature,"\* compiled by M. Jastrow, Ph. D., of Philadelphia. If there is any department of Hebrew or Semitic study in which "aids" for the use of the

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\* To be published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

student are needed, it is in the line of the work proposed. The Talmud is a labyrinth to the ordinary student; and so truly is this the case that, outside of the Jewish scholars themselves, there may be said to be almost no students of the Talmud. With such a dictionary as this at hand, the task will not be the hopeless one it has hitherto been. The following extract from the "Prospectus" will furnish a general idea of the work proposed :—

"The lexicon, in its arrangement, method and conciseness, is to be like the modern dictionaries, which have made classical studies a pleasure. The old fashion of unsystematically hunting for phonetic coincidences in all possible languages has been rejected. But while the work is based on philological principles, it avoids the abstruse discussions which have made similar works in other languages repellent to the student.

"Presenting the development of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages during the nine hundred years preceding the eleventh century of the common era, it may claim to be a contribution to comparative Semitic philology. The foreign elements in those languages will guide the student of post-classical Greek and Latin to the knowledge of words and meanings which may decide mooted questions of dialect, and shed light on other obscurities in his province of study. For these purposes each part of the work as it appears is an independent monograph.

"The work will be completed in about twelve parts of 96 quarto pages each. Its price (\$2.00 a part) has been fixed as low as possible, so as to place it within the reach of all to whom it may be of service. The first part will be ready for delivery about the 15th of September, and if the proper support be extended, the parts will follow each other at intervals of about three to six months."

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**A Little Knowledge of Hebrew.**—A little knowledge is not always a dangerous thing. It depends a great deal upon the person who has this little knowledge. If he is a fool, it may do him damage; if he is a man, and above all, a Christian minister with common sense and a clear conviction of duty, a little knowledge will prove to be a good thing. It may not be, quantitatively considered, a large amount of Hebrew which a student learns during a four weeks' attendance at a Summer School; but if rightly managed this small beginning may prove the basis of a solid superstructure. Everything depends upon the use made of this beginning. Men that come to a Summer School or who take a course in the Correspondence School are supposed to be of a kind that do so in order to learn, men who need not be driven, but only led. And experience has shown that, with such men, even the few weeks instruction in July or August has given them a fair start in becoming good Hebrew students, whose knowledge of the Old Testament tongue has been of great aid to them in their work. Then it must be remembered that most of these men have had some drill in acquiring languages, and this, together with the matured character of their minds and judgments, helps much toward making the Summer and Correspondence Schools a success.

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**Comparison of Greek and Hebrew.**—Students who are somewhat advanced in Hebrew, and have a fair knowledge of Greek, will find it a most profitable study to compare, verse for verse, the Greek New Testament with the Hebrew translation of Professor Delitzsch; also the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament with the original Hebrew. Comparing the differences of the idioms of the two

languages, seeing how the same thought is expressed in both, will draw special attention to the peculiarities of both. The law of contrast works here also, and a close examination of the philosophical Greek diction and thought in the garment of the simple and natural Hebrew is full of surprise and instruction.

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**An Essay on the Book of Proverbs.**—Attention is invited to the recent offer of a prize of fifty dollars by the Young Men's Hebrew Association for the best paper on "the Principles of Ethics in the Sayings contained in the Book of Proverbs, with an Inquiry into the Social Conditions which they reflect." We notice that the judges are to be Drs. Jastrow of Philadelphia, Gottheil of New York and Felsenthal of Chicago; that competition is open to all, and that the papers must be handed in before April 1, 1887.

Is not this a movement worthy of commendation, and of imitation? It is to be hoped that similar incentives will be offered by other organizations interested in Hebrew study. We trust that the number of those competing for this prize may be very great.

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**A Note from Prof. Hall.**—The following Note from Prof. Hall will be self-explanatory. It is sincerely hoped that for the sake of Syriac learning in England and America, the proposed translation of Prof. Nöldeke's Syriac Grammar may soon be issued.

TO THE EDITOR OF HEBRAICA:—

With reference to an Editorial Note in HEBRAICA of April last, respecting a proposed translation of Nöldeke's Syriac Grammar, I beg leave to say, with Prof. Nöldeke's concurrence, that his letter to me was not intended by him for publication; and that its getting into print was through a misunderstanding. Also that the translation in HEBRAICA contained some slight oversights, though none unfavorable to the parties concerned. It was a mistake, also, to state that the proofs or sheets therein referred to were printed; whereas they were in manuscript only, containing about as much matter as a "Bogen" of the original printed German. Further, that the publishers have assured Prof. Nöldeke that they never thought of publishing the translation against his wish; and their direct correspondence with him has been that of honorable men.

Yours truly,

ISAAC H. HALL.

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**The Study of Syriac.**—In the general awakening of interest in Semitic study, it may well be asked if the Syriac has not been neglected. The Hebrew is studied with renewed vigor, not merely as the medium of revelation and the vehicle of inspiration, but also linguistically and comparatively as "a branch of learning." Arabic has long been considered necessary for any one who will thoroughly understand the original forms of the etymology, the primitive meanings of the roots, and the most perfect development of the syntax of the Semitic tongues. Assyrian, too, is pursued with assiduity; for the history of the mighty peoples who used it as their vernacular, for the light which it throws upon the history and traditions of other primitive nations, and especially for its bearing upon the Hebrew language, literature and religion. But for the time being, Syriac seems to be relegated to an inferior position in the great Semitic family. We would not depreciate the merits of the sister languages; but it seems to be an opportune time for emphasizing the importance of giving more attention to this, which in many respects is the most interesting and attractive of them all. To the church historian there is no subject more inviting, and none which more needs investiga-



tion, than the history of the early controversies about the person of Christ, and of the sects and schisms which arose out of these controversies; and yet any thorough research in this line demands as a pre-requisite a knowledge of the Syriac, that we may hear both sides in regard to the questions in dispute, and that we may follow the fortunes of the so-called schismatic churches of the East. The hymns, also, of the Syrians, while they are stilted in form, and insipid to our taste, are revelations of the character and faith of the people who wrote and sung them, and of the life and doctrines of one of the greatest historic branches of the Christian church. The language is rich in such light literature as fables and tales; and possesses in manuscript many biographies and historic narratives which have never yet been published or translated. Many grammatical and lexicographical works, and valuable commentaries, such as that of Theodore of Mopsuestia, have never hitherto been accurately read. Who knows what treasures of learning and piety lie hidden within the covers of those two immense manuscript volumes of Theodore's commentaries, which are found in the Sachau collection in the Royal Library at Berlin? But more than for its general literature, secular and theological, the Syriac language is, and will remain, interesting to the biblical student, and almost essential to the textual critic of either the Old or the New Testament, because in it we have the oldest known version of the latter and the next oldest of the former,—the Peshitto; besides several other versions of great importance. We want Syriac scholars who will do for the Syriac versions what Tischendorf, Lagarde and others have been doing for the Greek. We want some American Gregories in Syriac to supplement the work of Martin, Cureton and Ceriani.

The Syriac language is, moreover, from a purely linguistic point of view, an interesting member of the Semitic group. Michaelis, in the preface to his Syriac Chrestomathy, contended that the study of it should precede that of the Hebrew,—the study, not of the versions, which afford at best but poor examples of what a language is capable of, but of the masterpieces of its native literature, which show us the breadth and fullness of its vocabulary, the intricacy and adaptability of its syntax. He seems to have thought that the Hebrew language, in both form and spirit, could only be rightly understood, or at least could be much more thoroughly and quickly understood, by those who had first mastered this cognate Aramaic dialect. Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, too, in the Prolegomena to his new Hebrew dictionary, emphasizes the close relationship existing between the roots of the Hebrew and of the Aramaic dialects. He says, on page 35, that "Hebrew lexicography in all questions, but especially for the explanation of the rarer Hebrew stems and words and for the elucidation of their fundamental meaning, must resort first of all to the Aramaic, and must not take counsel elsewhere till recourse to this has been had and had without avail." Now, what is true of Aramaic in general, is, perhaps, pre-eminently true of Syriac. It should, therefore, be thoroughly mastered by all who will teach the Hebrew language or who will comment upon the text or the meaning of the original Scriptures. It should be studied, not cursorily and for pastime, but scientifically and with painstaking accuracy. The genesis of its vowel-system, and the laws of its consonantal changes, its word-formation, syntax and prosody, should be studied in the light of comparative philology, and of its own historical development; so that, not at hap-hazard nor willfully, but according to law, we may gain a certain knowledge of the language itself and of the relation in which it stands to its sister languages, and of the light which it sheds upon them.

## ➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

### LYON'S ASSYRIAN MANUAL.\*

It is now pretty generally admitted that some knowledge of the Assyrian language is necessary to every Semitic specialist, and of prime importance in the work of Old Testament interpretation. Indeed, such strides have been made within thirty years in the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, and such light has been thrown by this means upon the fortunes and literatures of the ancient Semitic peoples, that students of these can no longer, with any sort of justice, allude disparagingly to the wide divergence of opinion among Assyriologists, and make the consequent uncertainty and difficulty the excuse for failure to undertake the study of Assyrian. As substantial agreement has been reached as to the principles by which Assyrian is to be deciphered and interpreted as we can hope to reach in the pursuit of any science whatever; and, as our knowledge of the Assyrian vocabulary shall improve, we may hope to see further uncertainties in regard to the values of the cuneiform signs gradually vanish, until there shall remain nothing but an insignificant minimum to remind us that there could once have been great difficulty arising from the various values of the signs.

The difficulties which have of late encompassed a beginner's path are well stated by Dr. Lyon in the preface to his *Assyrian Manual*, as follows: "Two great obstacles have stood in the way of those who desire to become acquainted with the language,—the lack of suitable books for beginners, and the large demand made on the memory for the acquisition of the cuneiform signs." It is safe to say that the labor of memory needed to acquire the signs would never prove irksome enough to drive scholars from the field. There remained, then, the lack of proper books for beginners.

And Dr. Lyon has taken a great step in removing this reproach from the door of the Assyriologists. Observing to what degree the acquisition of the signs has been complicated for beginners by their meager knowledge of the linguistic peculiarities to be expected, he has set before himself the problem of teaching the language through transliterated texts prior to any very close study of the originals or large practice with the signs. And therefore, in his selections for reading, he has given forty-seven pages to these texts against twelve in the cuneiform character. At the same time, for a gradual and pleasant introduction to the original, he has given five tables of signs to be used with the cuneiform selections and in preparing brief exercises. These tables offer, (1) a list of 287 Phonograms, giving all except very rare syllabic values, (2) a selected list of the ninety-two syllabic signs used most frequently, (3) twenty-four Determinatives, (4) 372 Ideograms, or ideographic combinations, including all used in the texts employed in the work, (5) the signs used for numerals when written ideographically. The Outline of Gram-

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\* AN ASSYRIAN MANUAL, for the use of Beginners in the study of the Assyrian language. By D. G. Lyon, Professor in Harvard University. Chicago: *The American Publication Society of Hebrew*. 1886. 8vo, cloth, pp. xlv, 138. Price, \$4.00.

mar contains twenty pages, the Notes thirty, and the Glossary forty-three, all in *brevier* type, forty lines to the page, against the fifty-nine pages of text in *small pica* and *cuneiform*, thirty-four lines and less to the page. The Glossary has the advantage over the *Lesestücke* of Delitzsch, and other books, in containing all the words found in the passages to be read (often under both the initial letter of root and that of derived word), as well as in being almost complete as a concordance to these passages. The labor involved in this valuable feature must have been very great. The Notes, while containing chiefly grammatical material, have such historical information as will throw light on obscure passages, and such references to the original as will make clear the author's preference in the case of doubtful readings, or which will explain the doubt. Nearly all the syntax offered is contained in these Notes.

As illustrating the progress which has been made in Assyrian study, it is interesting to note that, in the forty-seven pages of transliterated texts, there are but thirty-one ideograms and twenty-three syllables marked as doubtful, in some of these cases, even, the *meaning* being perfectly clear. For a few other words, the Notes offer different possibilities; but these are due chiefly to mutilations in the original. So the Glossary contains, for the fifty-nine pages of text, seventy-three words not defined at all, five words whose correct transliteration and meaning are uncertain, ninety-two whose meaning is not quite certain, nineteen whose roots are doubtful, though the meanings are not, and twenty-nine which, while not absolutely certain, are brought within very narrow limits of uncertainty; as, *šumbu a kind of wagon*, *šippatu a kind of reed*.

Probably the book will prove most serviceable in the hands of those who follow substantially the author's idea of the proper use of it, in his advice to beginners. After a thorough reading of the Grammar, he would have them begin with a certain five-page selection in transliterated form, opposite which he has had printed, in parallel pages, a word-for-word translation into English, and for which he has furnished very full notes with frequent references to the Grammar; and he gives minute directions as to the method here to be employed. At the same time, the student should commit each day a few of the selected Phonograms, and practice those learned by writing them and pointing them out in the cuneiform texts. After this, the selections should be taken up in the order of less to more difficult. Meanwhile, after some familiarity with Assyrian roots, the cuneiform selection of four and a half pages, already studied in transliteration, should be mastered, and then the remainder of the cuneiform; it being desirable also, as the student works on the transliterations, to make constant reference to the originals, in order to become familiar with the signs and methods of grouping them. As Dr. Lyon says, "Long before the student has accomplished all that is here marked out, he will be delighted to find that, if he is tolerably familiar with the list of signs, he will be in a position to translate, with a good deal of confidence, untransliterated historical texts."

There are few aspects in which this *Manual* is open to adverse criticism, and these are doubtless all incident to the pioneer character of the author's work. Some scholars will consider it a pity that the Outline of Grammar was not made fuller, particularly in the line of examples, and more systematic, even at the risk of approaching the analysis of other authors. This will occur to them especially in connection with the section on Phonic Changes and in those on verbs. The former might be retained in the memory somewhat more easily had the examples

been grouped under the old heads of Assimilation, Rejection, Addition and Commutation. The distinction between weak and weakest gutturals is not quite emphatic enough in § 27 to overcome the impression received by § 7. 2; nor are the cases of vowels retained after loss of a guttural (or changed to *i*) quite clearly distinguished from cases where they are lost altogether or where the guttural is assimilated. Leaving the question open as to whether there were in Assyrian the vowels *ê* and *ô*, it hardly seems possible that *a-ʾ* could give *i*, as appears to be stated in § 30 (but see § 8. 1), without previous change of *ʾ* to *ʿ*. A larger number of examples brought under the phonic principles in the Grammar would have rendered somewhat clearer the circumstances in which weak letters are exchanged or contracted, and those in which they are lost altogether. In view of the examples given under § 8. 2. *c. d.*, the enquiry is worth making whether the vowelless letter is not in all the cases first assimilated, and then the *m* or *n* added to avoid a doubled consonant; the dissolution of doubling and use of *n* seem to be allowed in Note on 37<sup>13</sup>. The change of *t* to *d* after vowelless *g* noted on 18<sup>16</sup> should find a place in § 8. of the Grammar. The Grammar might perhaps note in addition to the repetition of a consonant to indicate the accented syllable (§ 21. 3), and before suffixes (§ 9. 2), the same before *ma* (see Note on 42<sup>11</sup>) and merely as orthographic variation (Note on 46<sup>18</sup>) and to mark a preceding vowel as long (Note to 42<sup>11</sup>). It is gratifying to observe that *ašar* is not reckoned as a relative. It might perhaps have been stated in § 16. 2 that participles may form the masc. plur. in other endings than *ûti* (*ûtu*), for see Note on 7<sup>11</sup>. So the occurrence of the noun in *u* for the construct is frequent enough, and is alluded to in Note on 19<sup>17</sup> but is not mentioned in § 16. 4. Perhaps the declension of the first member of a compound, as seen in *šanimma* 19<sup>2</sup>, *aḥinna* 46<sup>17</sup> should somewhere have been noted. *Šattišam* 102<sup>7</sup> finds its only explanation in a note on 15<sup>21</sup>, where it would not be likely to be seen when wanted unless the attention were specially directed to it. In Note on 36<sup>21</sup>, a verbal form with final *u* in sing., even outside a relative sentence is recognized, and *išhupu* 10<sup>20</sup>, 12<sup>23</sup>, 44<sup>8</sup> and especially 10<sup>25</sup> when compared with *išhup* 48<sup>22</sup> may offer another example of it, though the Grammar seems to exclude the idea in § 24. 5. It is but occasionally that the author's method of using the type occasions even temporary uncertainty as to his meaning. So page 87, line 2, where the word "forward" occurs; page 97, line 30, where "or" separates two meanings, only one of which is allowable (cf. Note on 30<sup>33</sup>), while on page 113, line 17, the two are allowable, and the proper one to be determined by a given context (cf. Note on 16<sup>25</sup>). Only very rarely do the Notes show evidence of a change of view after the other portions of the book were prepared; thus *kisalla* 24<sup>16</sup>, 37<sup>21</sup>, 38<sup>15</sup>, 39<sup>17</sup> should become, according to the Notes, *šamnu*; *išar* 20<sup>28</sup> defined in the Glossary as *thriving* would seem to have the meaning *abundance*, if we follow the translation given in the note. These points are perhaps too trivial to be noticed, at any rate they can easily be cared for in a second edition.

No one was better qualified than the author for undertaking such a work as this. For six years he has given the most of his time to Assyrian investigation. Nothing that has been written in this field has escaped him, though the method exposed in this volume is the elaboration of plans actually adopted and found to work in his own class-room. By this means, what it is safe to call the best Assyrian text-book for beginners (it is indeed the *first* really practical *introductory* book) has been made. For advanced classes, the book of Prof. Delitzsch will still

be needed even in this country; but for elementary instruction, it will doubtless be displaced here, and Dr. Lyon's book might very well be brought out abroad in German and French. Several instructors have already decided to use it with their classes. At Newton, where Assyrian has been introduced as one of the electives, and will be reckoned toward the required number of hours covering the full course, a class of three or four will this autumn begin to test the value of the work as a help in acquiring the language, and they expect to give the best part of their seventy-five hours of recitation to the material contained in this valuable *Manual*.

CHARLES RUFUS BROWN,  
*Newton Centre, Mass.*

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### LANSING'S ARABIC MANUAL.\*

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Aside from the intrinsic merits of this book, there are a number of reasons for giving it a warm welcome. It is a renewed indication that the revival of Semitic studies in America is widening and deepening; and an indication the nature and character of which is entitled to special notice. For the thoroughly scientific and philological study of the Semitic family of languages, and specifically also of the Hebrew, the Arabic must and will retain the fundamental position accorded to it by the history of the study of these languages. For the rational grammatical study of Semitic in general, and Hebrew in particular, the Arabic, by its very nature and genius, is entitled to the leading rank. And it is for the reason that those principles and factors which have controlled the growth and development of the Semitic languages, and which must be understood before a rational appreciation of the languages can be secured, find their best expression and development in the Arabic. It is true that some of the possibilities of Semitic expression of thought have, through the influence of the more flexible Greek, found a better development in Ethiopic than they have in Arabic. Nevertheless, the latter language, as a whole and in nearly all particulars, stands at the head of the Semitic group in importance for grammatical study. A convincing example and testimony of this fact is the present state in which the matter of Hebrew syntax stands. A satisfactory exposition of syntax is now the great desideratum of Hebrew philology, and has been for many years. Many grammarians have promised us a syntax, and no one has attempted to furnish one that goes beyond the rudiments. We think the reason for this is that, upon investigation, it is found that such a syntax, if it is to be thoroughly scientific, must be based upon a thorough knowledge of Arabic syntax, in which have found expression those methods of Semitic thought which are latent, or appear only in embryo, in Hebrew; and that such an understanding of Arabic syntax is only possible after a thorough study of the native Arabic grammarians. We doubt whether, under the circumstances, it will be possible in this generation for one scholar to cover this ground alone, and write a complete syntax. This is really more than a life's work. What the interests of the science demand are special investigations of the different elements of syntax, something on the plan of Driver's treatise on

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\* AN ARABIC MANUAL. By J. G. Lansing, D. D., Gardner A. Sage Professor of Old Testament Languages and Exegesis in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church at New Brunswick, N. J. Chicago: *American Publication Society of Hebrew*. 1886. Pp. xviii, 194. Price, \$2.00.

Hebrew Tenses, or, still better, of Philippi's discussion of the *status constructus*—a model in the best sense of the word. If the dialects are to be appealed to for the purpose of grammatical work in Hebrew, the chief stress must be laid upon the Arabic. The best interests of Semitic philology, in America, as elsewhere, demand that we have three Arabists to one Assyriologist. That these figures are inverted among us is not our good fortune, but our misfortune.

These words are perfectly in place in introducing to our readers what we think is the first Arabic grammar ever published in America. The author is the son of a missionary in Egypt, has spent twelve years of his life there, and, we understand, speaks modern Arabic as fluently as a native. This, in itself, would not of course enable him to write a good Arabic grammar; but he has evidently enjoyed a good philological training, and has succeeded in producing what we do not hesitate to pronounce an excellent manual. It embraces a grammar proper, a chrestomathy, containing several chapters of Genesis and several Suras from the Kuran, with specimens of grammatical analysis; and, thirdly, a glossary. The grammar proper is evidently to be the leading feature; and the other two are neither as complete as might be desirable, nor as satisfactory. For the grammar we have scarcely any but words of commendation. We were especially pleased with the terse, concise and clear-cut definitions which cannot be misunderstood. The general order of subjects is natural, while a few features, such as the substitution of English for German spelling of the *termini technici*, the introduction of "Exercises," and others, are especially noteworthy. We might differ with the author on this or that minor particular; but we do not think it the office of the critic to do so, as long as the book as a whole is worthy of a welcome. We cannot, however, suppress the belief that his special introduction on the three vowels in Arabic, as also the use which he makes of this in § 36 and elsewhere, and upon which the author seems to lay special stress, will be found to be of little practical advantage to the teacher or the pupil. We frankly confess we do not fully understand his theory in all its ramifications, and fear that this will be true also in the case of the beginners. His statements, of course, are based upon facts, and only these ought to have been stated. In a grammar that is intended to be only elementary, fixed facts and not philosophizing theories can be used, even if the latter are entirely correct.

The proof has been closely read, and the errata that remain are few and insignificant. We have examined the work carefully, and have completed the task with the conviction that Dr. Lansing's Arabic Grammar will serve the purpose for which it is intended. It would be an oversight not to mention with words of praise the typographical excellency of the book. The American Publication Society of Hebrew is to be congratulated upon the accuracy and elegant finish of the work. It is fully equal to the best that reaches us from abroad.

GEORGE H. SCHODDE,  
Columbus, O.

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#### BEZOLD'S ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ASSYRIOLOGIE.\*

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The second number of the "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," edited by Dr. Bezold, of Munich, contains valuable contributions by Professors Oppert and Schrader, Dr. Jensen and others. A feature of the number is a long article on "Old-Chal-

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\* Published at München, Price, M.16.—a year.

dean Art" by Dr. Reber, which is to be continued in the next number. Probably the most important article is that of Dr. F. Peiser, and certainly the most amusing that of Prof. Armand of Paris. Dr. Peiser shows by an ingenious method that the Assyrians followed a fixed order in the arrangement of the numerous signs of which the cuneiform writing consists. The question is a very important one, and the value of Dr. Peiser's discovery would have been still further enhanced, had he succeeded in finding some fixed principle in the succession of the signs. He believes the order to be based on mere graphical resemblances; but there are many difficulties in the way of this supposition. It is possible that, by reverting to a more ancient form of the cuneiform signs, a clearer connection between the signs that are placed in juxtaposition will become apparent.

Prof. Armand's article furnishes an interesting chapter on the history of "learned errors." Some years ago an inscription in cuneiform characters, and purporting to come from Cappadocia, fell into the hands of Prof. Sayce, the eminent English philologist, who expended a great deal of ingenuity in trying to decipher it. He gave two translations, one in 1881 and one a year later. The second was an improvement upon the first as far as the number of deciphered words went, but certainly no improvement as far as the sense of the inscription was concerned. Prof. Armand here shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that the inscription is the work of some "Shapeira," who clumsily tried to copy some cuneiform signs, and succeeded in so disfiguring them as to lead Prof. Sayce to suppose that he had a *new* form of cuneiform writing before him. The forger chose a short inscription found on the well-known bas-relief, coming from Kojundschik, and now in the British Museum, which represents Sennacherib sitting on his throne at Lachish in the act of receiving tribute. Above the head of the king are three lines of Assyrian, reading as follows:—

"Sennacherib the king of the legions, the king of Assyria, sits on the royal throne and receives the booty of the city of Lakis."

The inscription is one of the best known, so that it was not difficult for Prof. Armand, once having found the clue, to complete his happy "guess." Prof. Sayce is too great a scholar to feel chagrined at the error into which he has fallen, and will, no doubt, join in the hearty laugh which scholars are having at his expense. Prof. Chwolson was led astray by Firkowitsch, Prof. Socin by Shapeira's famous "Moabite Potteries," and Prof. Sayce will surely not close the phalanx of great scholars who have been the victims of great forgers. M. Clermont-Ganneau of Paris published, about a year ago, a little book on the "Frauds Archeologiques en Palestine," from which many will learn with surprise on how great a scale the manufacture of "antiquities" is carried on in the Orient.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

*Philadelphia.*

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#### PRÆTORIUS' GRAMMATICA ÆTHIOPICA.\*

This little grammar is No. VII. in the "Porta Linguarum Orientalium" series, begun by Petermann and, since his death, carried on under the editorship of Strack, of Berlin.

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\* GRAMMATICA ÆTHIOPICA cum paradigmatis, literatura, chrestomathia, et glossario scripsit Dr. F. Prætorius, Prof. ord. universitatis wratislaviensis. 1886. Karlsruhe & Leipzig: H. Reuther. Price, M.6.—

It is gratifying to learn that there is a demand among students for an *elementary* Ethiopic grammar. It certainly adds still further evidence to the fact that a new and deep interest in Semitic philology is spreading over Europe and America.

Since the publication of Dillmann's "*Äthiopische Grammatik*" in 1857, very little has been done in Ethiopic grammar. With the exception of König's "*Neue Studien über Schrift, Aussprache und allgemeine Formenlehre des Äthiopischen*," published in 1877, nothing of importance has appeared. Dillmann's grammar has remained heretofore and will still remain the authority. The "*Grammatica Äthiopica*" cannot, in any sense of the term, be regarded as a rival of Dillmann's. The book does not claim to be critical or exhaustive. The author has given us, in a condensed form, the *essential elements* of the Ethiopic grammar. He has presented, in a clear and precise manner, and in as little space as possible, the necessary points of the grammar. One thing worthy of notice is the transliteration in Roman letters of the greater part of the Ethiopic words used in the text of the grammar. This is done in almost every case where any difficulty of pronunciation might present itself to the beginner.

Besides the grammar proper, there is given a full list of paradigms (pp. 1-18); a Bibliography (pp. 19-28); a Chrestomathy, containing the first four chapters of Genesis, taken from Dillmann's *Ochtateuch*, and several other small selections (pp. 29-45); and lastly a Glossary to the Chrestomathy (pp. 49-65).

It is a matter of regret that the author did not present us with an English, instead of a Latin, translation; for, as Dillmann remarks in the preface to his grammar, the latter language appears quite pedantic in an elementary text-book.

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#### NEUBAUER'S CATALOGUE OF HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS.\*

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Hebrew bibliography is of comparatively modern date; but it has already attained to a high degree of perfection. Comparing the earliest and the latest Hebrew bibliographical works, we notice among the former the *Sifthe-yeshenim*, of Sabathai ben Joseph (Amst. 1680), with about 2,360 titles; while in the *Ozar ha-shorashim*, of J. A. Benjacob (Wilna, 1880), their number has risen to 17,000. This great progress is mainly due to the exertions of trustees and managers of public libraries in collecting literary treasures and in making their contents known to scholars and students at home and abroad by the publication of descriptive catalogues. The Bodleian Library excels in both these respects. It possesses the best collection of Hebrew works and the best catalogues. The Bodleian includes no less than fourteen distinct collections of Hebrew MSS., foremost among them being the Hebrew Library founded by Rabbi David Oppenheimer of Prague (1707). This Rabbi was the first among the Jews to collect books and MSS. systematically. He had a list of *desiderata* prepared, and employed agents to travel in all directions in search of rare and interesting works. His library was, however, moved from place to place; for a long time it lay at Hamburg stored away in boxes, hidden from the sight of man. No Mæcenas or institution was found on the Continent rich and liberal enough to rescue it out of the darkness. The Bodleian has

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\* CATALOGUE OF THE HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AND IN THE COLLEGE LIBRARIES OF OXFORD. Compiled by Ad. Neubauer. With Forty Facsimiles. Oxford: Clarendon Press.



the merit of having brought this treasure of Hebrew learning to light and made it accessible to the public. Another important collection, likewise brought over from Germany, is that of the learned bibliophile Hyman Joseph Michael of Hamburg (born 1792).

Of the printed Hebrew books in the Bodleian, Dr. M. Steinschneider compiled an elaborate catalogue (1860), which, as Dr. Neubauer justly remarks, might rather be called "Bibliotheca Judaica." Part of the MSS. have been described by Johannes Uri, 1787, and also by Dr. Steinschneider in an Appendix to the catalogue. The present catalogue, compiled by Dr. Neubauer, includes not only all Hebrew MSS. contained in the Bodleian, but also those of the college libraries of Oxford. It possesses all the qualities required to make the work as perfect as possible. It is a rich source of interesting information, given in a concise and clear manner, "without discursiveness and without references to other catalogues or to periodicals, unless strictly necessary." The catalogue is not overstocked with research and learning, like the catalogue of the printed books in the Bodleian, nor filled with unnecessary and lengthy treatises, like the first instalment of the catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Cambridge University library. There is just so much information to be found in Dr. Neubauer's catalogue, and just so many extracts from the MSS., as those interested in the subject would desire to find in a work of this kind, without being compelled to go through a mass of literary discussions. Where necessary, Dr. Neubauer has spared no trouble, and has given the most detailed information. Such is, e. g., the case in No. 1390, which contains a "Hebrew translation of Aegidius' Commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*," and forty-nine philosophical treatises by various authors. Every one of these treatises is described by its full title. No. 814 includes forty-two *responsa*, of which likewise a full account is given. Two sections of the Catalogue, viz., Liturgy and Poetry, are especially distinguished in this respect. Siddur, Machzor, and Divan are unrolled before the reader from beginning to end. Not a single prayer, not the smallest poem has been omitted.

The age and country of each MS. is correctly stated where possible. That this is not always an easy task may be noticed even in the first MS. The date, as it at present stands—ה'תתס"ד—is 5864 A. M. This is impossible, the present year being described by Jews as 5646 A. M. Mr. Neubauer, however, noticed an erasure in the first letter (*he*), and is perfectly right in assuming that the original *daleth* has been altered into *he* by some ignorant critic. The correctness of the conjecture (though finally abandoned by Dr. Neubauer himself, col. 1149) is supported by the error of Leon de Modena, who states that the MS. was written 5064. This scholar must have read *resh* instead of *daleth*; at all events, there was no *he* when he saw the date of the MS. in the year 1628.

The classification of Hebrew books presents likewise a peculiar difficulty, as the titles rarely give an idea of the contents of the book. One would hardly expect to find "Libesbrif" (No. 1420) in the section "Ethics," or *ʿAhabbah betha'anughim* ("Love in Delights") among theological works (No. 1291).

It is remarkable that this rich collection of Hebrew MSS., in which every branch of Hebrew literature is so well represented, contains no biblical MS. of earlier date than the twelfth century, and no complete copy of the Talmud. To some extent this fact may be explained by the hostility displayed in the Middle Ages by Christians towards Jews and their literature. The destruction of Jewish houses, synagogues, and colleges, with all their literary contents, was no uncom-

mon occurrence in those days of darkness and fanaticism. Cartloads of copies of the Talmud were confiscated and burnt. The loss of their books was felt, especially by scholars, as a more severe blow than the loss of all other valuables. Expression of this feeling we find in extracts given by Dr. Neubauer from MSS. Nos. 254, 326, 448. The entire absence of early copies of biblical books remains, nevertheless, a strange phenomenon.

Students of Hebrew literature, who may have to consult the Catalogue, will find great assistance in the numerous tables and indexes which Dr. Neubauer has prepared with so much care, and which are arranged in the most practical way. But, even independently of the Catalogue, the indexes are in many respects useful and suggestive. The antiquary, the philologist, the statistician, and the historian will find here interesting problems for further research. Of special interest and value as regards palaeography are the facsimiles which represent in forty plates almost all variations of Hebrew square, rabbinic, and cursive writings. Thirty-nine of these are taken from MSS. in the Bodleian library; and one (xlix.) from a St. Petersburg MS.

In conclusion, we congratulate Dr. Neubauer and the Bodleian upon the production of this useful and elegant work, and we hope that the British Museum will follow so excellent an example.

M. FRIEDLAENDER, in *The Academy* (Aug. 28.)

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No. 2.

## NOTES ON A COMPARISON OF THE TEXTS OF PSALM XVIII. AND 2 SAMUEL XXII.

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The object of these notes is to arrange and examine some of the phenomena of variation between the parallel texts 2 Sam. xxii. and Ps. xviii., to point out the questions suggested by such an attempt, the data that exist for the solution of these questions and the direction in which, as suggested by the imperfect study I have been able to give, the solution of some of these questions seems to lie. I have added two or three notes<sup>1</sup> not specially connected with the usual controversies on the texts, but raising points of interest on which the comparison of these texts, or the way in which it has been discussed, seems to throw some light.

### I. A CLASSIFICATION OF THE VARIATIONS.

*Probable character as compared with variations of New Testament MSS.*—The tendency of modern commentators is to attribute the differences between these two texts rather to the conscious or unconscious mistakes of scribes than to any critical or literary revision. It may be useful to examine these differences with a view to ascertaining how far they are such as might naturally arise in the process of copying. One may expect to find assistance for such a task in the phenomena, laws and results of the textual criticism of the Greek Testament.<sup>2</sup> For these the abundance of MSS., versions and quotations, affords rich material, and labor has been long and freely spent upon it. Moreover, we should expect to find that the phenomena of the differentiation of MSS. through the process of copying would be largely the same in all ages and languages; and it should be possible to allow roughly for the varying frequency of copying, the clearness of characters, accuracy and carefulness of scribes.

<sup>1</sup> Each note is indicated by an asterisk at its beginning.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Note III. Appendix to Second Book of Samuel edited by A. F. Kirkpatrick, M. A.

We may, therefore, begin by attempting to arrange the differences under one of the fuller systems of divisions of possible errors in New Testament criticism and perhaps that of Hammond<sup>1</sup> will be the most useful, namely,

A. Unconscious errors: (1) sight; (2) hearing; (3) memory.

B. Conscious errors as: (1) incorporation of glosses; (2) corrections of harsh and unusual expressions; (3) corrections due to a desire to harmonize parallel accounts; (4) insertions due to the influence of current liturgical forms; (5) alterations for dogmatical reasons.

Then it may be necessary or possible to add one or two supplementary divisions due to the special characteristics of the Hebrew character and language.

It will often be possible to account for the same difference in various ways, and so to place it under different heads. The more largely this is the case, the greater is the probability that the differences are to be wholly or chiefly accounted for as the errors of scribes.

A. Unconscious Errors. 1. Errors of Sight. *a.* Cases of confusion of similar letters. **ך** and **ר**: v. 11, Sam. **וִירָא**, Ps. **וִירָא**; v. 43, Sam. **אֲרָקָם**, Ps. **אֲרִיקָם**, cf. A. 1. *d.* **ן** and **י**: v. 23, Sam. **אֲסוֹר**, Ps. **אֲסִיר**. **ו** and **ס**: v. 15, Sam. **חֲצִים**, Ps. **חֲצִיו**. So Thenius in loco, "Ps. **חֲצִיו** through the *defacing* of half the **ס**," cf. B. 2. *b.*

**כ** and **ר**: v. 12, Sam. **חֲשֶׁרֶת**, Ps. **חֲשֶׁכֶת**. **כ** and **ס**: v. 28, Sam. **וְעִינִיךְ**, Ps. **וְעִינִים**. Ewald on Ps.: "The reading of Sam.....probably arose merely from the false reading of **עִינִיךְ** as **עִינִים**."

**ן** and **ר**: v. 33, Sam. **וִיתֵר**, Ps. **וִיתֵן**. Also **ו** and **י**: v. 28, Sam. **רְמִים**, Ps. **רְמוֹת**. Thenius in loco: "The **ו** of **רְמוֹת** was closed by the line (*Schriftlinie*) beneath, and the **ן** shortened."

To these may be added another case indicated by the Septuagint as a difference between its text in Psalms and that of the Hebrew, Ps. xviii. 35. **ח** and **ת**: Heb. **נַחְתָּה**, LXX. **נַתְּתָה** (*ἐθου*). So Hitzig in loco. Cf. A. 1. *c.*

*b.* Transposition of Letters. **ג** and **ך**: v. 46, Sam. **וִיחַנְרוּ**, Ps. **וִיחַרְנוּ**.

*c.* Omission or insertion of a letter or letters, owing to proximity to the same or a similar letter or set of letters; also omission or insertion of **ו** or **י**. (These last, from their small size in the square character, might easily be overlooked, and so omitted; and possibly an accidental insertion of them might pass unnoticed and fail to be corrected for the same reason.)

\* The variation in the readings in v. 16, Sam. **אֲפִיקֵי מִים**, Ps. **אֲפִיקֵי מִים**, may very probably have arisen from a confusion caused by the repetition of **ים**; possibly the first step was to divide the words **אֲפִיקֵי מִים**, and then to correct the grammar into **אֲפִיקֵי מִים**. It is possible also that in v. 24 the variations Sam. **וְאֵהִי תַמִּים**, Ps. **וְאֵהִי תַמִּים** may be due either to an omission of **ה** through

<sup>1</sup> Hammond's *Textual Criticism*, etc., p. 16.

its similarity to ת, or to an accidental repetition of ת and its subsequent misreading as ה; but cf. B. 2. b.

Again, in v. 25, we have Sam. כְּבִירִי, Ps. כְּבִירִי where the combination כְּבִירִי probably led to the assimilation of רִי to רִי and then to the omission of the second רִי. It is, however, just possible that the variation arose from כְּבִירִי by the accidental repetition of רִי and the misreading of the second רִי as רִי.

In v. 27, it is possible that the reading of Sam. תִּתְּבֵרַר arose from the accidental omission of the second of the two רִי's of תִּתְּבֵרַר, or that the reading of Ps. תִּתְּבֵרַר arose from the accidental repetition of the רִי; but cf. B. 2. b.

So in v. 28 the similarity of ה and ת may have given rise, by omission or repetition, to the variations Sam. אֶתָּה, Ps. אֶתָּה.

So again v. 35, Sam. נַחַת, Ps. נַחַתָּה, where the concurrence of two or three similar letters would increase the chance of a mistake; cf. A. 1. a.

In v. 44, the variation Sam. תִּשְׁמְרֵנִי, Ps. תִּשְׁמְרֵנִי may have arisen through the slight similarity of רִי to מִ; cf. A. 1. a., Ewald on v. 28.

Under this head we may possibly include, as caused by the character of the letters ' and ך, a. Some of the inconsistencies in the carrying out of the system of *Scriptio Defectiva* in Sam. and *Scriptio Plena* in Ps. β. The variations sometimes between the two texts, sometimes between the Q<sup>ri</sup> and K<sup>thibh</sup> of Samuel, between the affixes ך and ין. γ. The insertion or omission of ך in עֲנֹתְךָ, עֲנֹתְךָ, etc.; but cf. C. 2. δ. The insertion or omission of the conjunction ך, especially ך conversive (or consecutive) before the ' of the third person.

d. Omission by Homœoteleuton. Thenius seems to consider that the loss of the clause in v. 3, וּמִנּוּסֵי מִשְׁעֵי מַחֲמֵם תִּשְׁעֲנִי, may be due to the confusion caused by the string of first person affixes. Cf. B. 4. It is possible also that in v. 43 אֲרִקֵּם should stand in the text, and has been omitted in Ps. because of its ending with ם, as does the previous and similar אֲרִקֵּם or אֲרִיקֵם; but cf. A. 1. a. Also in v. 36 of Sam. the omission of וַיִּמְיֹן תִּסְעֲרֵנִי.

e. Variations owing either to the accidental repetition of a word and subsequent differentiation of the two words thus obtained; or to the accidental omission of one of two consecutive similar words. In v. 12 סִבִּיתִי סִבֹּת may be omitted in Sam., owing to its slight similarity to the two following words סִבִּיתִי סִבֹּת. In v. 39, the presence of וְאֵכָלָם in Sam. after כָּלָתָם or its omission in the Psalm may be due to one of these causes. So too may be explained in v. 43 the insertion or omission of אֲרִקֵּם (Sam.) after אֲרִיקֵם or אֲרִקֵּם; but cf. A. 1. d.

A. 2. Errors of Hearing. V. 42, the variation between אֶל (Sam.) and עַל (Ps.) may be due to this cause; but cf. B. 2. b.

A. 3. Errors of Memory. Errors classed under this head may be supposed to arise thus: the scribe grasps the sense of a clause, but attending more closely to the sense than to the exact words, substitutes for some word or words a synonymous equivalent; also small particles will be omitted or inserted where the



omission or insertion only slightly affects the sense; cf. Hammond, p. 19. It is difficult to draw the line between errors arising thus and errors arising from the conscious substitution of usual words and forms for unusual. The same tendency which would lead to this conscious substitution might also lead to unconscious substitution. Thus, though differences of grammatical form, etc., are reserved for a later group, it is possible that many of them are unconscious errors of memory.

a. Interchange of Synonyms. V. 1, Sam. מכף, Ps. מִיָּד, the reading of Sam. being probably assimilated to the preceding מכף. V. 3, Sam. אֱלֹהֵי, Ps. אֱלִי. V. 29, Sam. וַיְהוֹה, Ps. אֱלֹהֵי. V. 32, Sam. אֵל, Ps. אֱלֹהֵי. V. 47, Sam. inserts יִשְׁעִי before צוּר.

There is no systematic variation of the names of God between the two texts, and the few differences that do occur seem to fall fairly under this head. In v. 29 the presence of וַיְהוֹה in the text of Sam. may be due to the neighboring יהוה. The צוּר of v. 47 may be a reminiscence of previous צוּר's. V. 7, Sam. אֶקְרָא, Ps. אִשׁוּעַ, the reading of Sam. being probably, as elsewhere, assimilated to a previous word. V. 32, Sam. מְבַלְעֵרִי, Ps. זֹלָתִי, another instance of similar assimilation. V. 48, Sam. וּמוֹרִיד, Ps. וַיְדַבֵּר. V. 49, Sam. מוֹצִיאִי, Ps. מַפְלִטִי.

b. Omission or insertion of particles. The reading כִּי of v. 5 in Sam., and the numerous variations between the two texts and the versions as to presence or absence of ׀ is doubtless due in part to this cause. Cf. C. 1.

B. Conscious Errors. 1. The incorporation of marginal glosses into the text. The variation in v. 7 may be accounted for by supposing that we have the correct text in the reading וַיְשׁוּעַתִּי בְּאִזְנוֹי of Samuel; that this seemed obscure to some reader, who, by way of explanation of בְּאִזְנוֹי, wrote לִפְנֵי תְבוּא in the margin; and that a later scribe incorporated this in the text. The word תְּאִיר, in v. 29 of Ps., may be a marginal gloss inserted in the text; but cf. B. 4. In v. 48, אֶרְקַעִם, may have been originally a marginal explanation of אֶרֶקֶם.

2. Correction of harsh or unusual expressions. a. *Scriptio Plena* and *Defectiva*. The change, which has taken place in the orthography of biblical Hebrew, in the partial substitution of the *Scriptio Plena* for the *Scriptio Defectiva*, is perhaps most clearly illustrated by a comparison of these two texts. It is not so much that one has consistently one system, and the other the other, but that they give the process of change in two different stages. While, in most instances, the text of Samuel has the *Scriptio Defectiva*, and the text of Ps. XVIII. the *Scriptio Plena*, in some cases the relation is reversed, as in the קוּלִי (Sam.), קָלוּ (Ps.) of verse 14. This change of orthography may be compared to the process by which, in the transmission of the text of the Greek Testament, classical was substituted for Alexandrine spelling.

b. Changes from one grammatical form to another, and similar slight changes. V. 3, Sam. וּמַפְלִטִי לִי, Ps. וּמַפְלִטִי. V. 4, Sam. וּמַאֲבִי, Ps. וּמַאֲבִי. V. 5,

insertion of כִּי in text of Samuel. V. 6, Sam. סִבּוֹנִי, Ps. סִבּוֹנִי. V. 15, Sam. מִגְעַרְתֶּךָ, Ps. חֲצִין. V. 16, Sam. אָפּוּ, Ps. בִּגְעַרְתָּ. V. 19, Sam. מִשְׁעָן, Ps. לְמִשְׁעָן. V. 20, Sam. אֲתִי, Ps. וִיצֵא. V. 21, Sam. כִּצְדָקְתִּי, Ps. כִּצְדָקִי. V. 23, Sam. אֲסוּר מִמֶּנָּה, Ps. אֲסִיר מִנִּי. V. 24, Sam. לוֹ, Ps. וְאֵהִי. V. 25, Sam. וְאִשְׁתַּמְרָה, Ps. וְאִשְׁתַּמֵּר. V. 27, Sam. תִּתְּבֵר, Ps. תִּתְּבֵר; Sam. תִּתְּפֵל, Ps. תִּתְּפֵל. V. 37, Sam. תַּחַתִּי, Ps. תַּחַתִּי. V. 40, Sam. וְתִזְנֵנִי, Ps. וְתִזְנֵנִי; Sam. עַל, Ps. אֵל. V. 41, Sam. נִתְּתָה, Ps. תַּחַתִּי. V. 42, Sam. אֵל, Ps. עַל. V. 44, Sam. עָמִי, Ps. עָם. V. 45, Sam. יִתְּכַחֲשׁוּ, Ps. יִכְחֲשׁוּ. V. 46, Sam. מִמִּסְגְּרוֹתֵיהֶם, Ps. מִמִּסְגְּרוֹתֵיהֶם. V. 48, Sam. תַּחַתִּי, Ps. תַּחַתִּי. V. 49, Sam. אֹמֶרָה, Ps. אֹמֶר. V. 50, Sam. חֲמָס, Ps. חֲמָסִים; מִן־קָמִי, Ps. וּמִקָּמִי.

3. Corrections due to a desire to harmonize parallel accounts. *a.* In the New Testament this influence seriously affects the text of the Gospels, parts of the Acts, Ephesians and Colossians. Here this influence might be expected to work towards the harmonizing of differences between the two texts; but in such cases the two texts are rendered identical, and there is no evidence of change, unless we can have recourse to independent witnesses. Witnesses, more or less independent, we have in the LXX. and other versions, and in the Q<sup>r</sup>i. The versions, however, are most of them wholly or largely influenced by the LXX. The LXX. seldom differs from the two Hebrew texts when they are agreed; and the differences which do occur seem more likely to have arisen from mistake, or failure to understand the text, than from variations in the text; cf. v. 48. The Q<sup>r</sup>i of Samuel indicates in two instances a preference for a reading which would introduce a variation between the texts; and this preference may be due to a belief that the text of Samuel had, in these instances, been adapted to that of Ps. XVIII. But it is difficult to feel confident as to the nature of the grounds upon which the readings of the Q<sup>r</sup>i are based. The instances are, v. 8, וְתִגְעַשׁ for וְתִגְעַשׁ; v. 15, וְיָהִם for וְיָהִם; possibly also in v. 51, in the substitution of מְגִדֹּל for מְגִדִּיל, though the reading מְגִדֹּל of Ps. might suit either.

*β.* There are also readings which may be due to desire to harmonize the text of the Psalm with that of passages elsewhere which are similar to parts of it. The reading וְצוֹר יִשׁוּעָתִי in Sam. (v. 47) may be due to the וְצוֹר יִשׁוּעָתִי of Ps. LXXXIX. 27. The וְלִי of וּמִפְּלִי לִי in Sam. (v. 2) might be due to Ps. CXLIV. 2.

*γ.* Again, the tendency to assimilate the phraseology of different parts of the Psalm may be placed under this head. The influence of this tendency on Sam. (vs. 1, 7, 32) has already been noticed.

\* In Ps. XVIII. 43, the reading עַל פְּנֵי רוּחַ may be an imperfect reminiscence of the עַל כְּנָפֵי רוּחַ of v. 11; and the מִפְּלִי, of Ps. XVIII. 49, is probably due to the previous מִפְּלִי. It may, however, be questioned whether such errors are not more likely to be unconscious than conscious.

4. Liturgical Alterations. It is suggested by Lengerke that the clause אֲרַחֲמֶךָ, etc., may have been prefixed to the Psalm by some one who adapted it for use in public worship. On the other hand, Delitzsch suggests that, the rhythm of the text in Samuel having been disturbed by the loss of this clause, the words מִנּוּסִים, etc., were inserted to restore the rhythm.

\* 5. Dogmatic Alterations. The only reading that suggests any doctrinal motive is the insertion of תֵּאִיר in v. 29 of Ps. xviii. Commentators mostly defend the reading of Ps. xviii., and Delitzsch points out that, though God is spoken of as אֱלֹהִים, he is not spoken of as יְהוָה; but this very fact renders it extremely probable that, if God had been, as in Samuel, spoken of as יְהוָה, the text would have been modified; and the practice of the LXX. and the traditional Tikkun Sopherim in the case of expressions considered derogatory to the divine majesty would be some ground for supposing that a similar motive might have led to the insertion of תֵּאִיר here.

C. Other classes than those of Hammond. 1. Errors arising from mechanical injury to the text from which the copy is taken. MSS. of the Greek Testament are often found to be variously injured; portions are missing at the beginning and end of pages; the edges have been injured, and the beginning and end of lines lost; letters are obliterated or indistinct. Any one copying from such MSS. might well be led into errors of omission or else of conjectural emendation or misreading of half effaced letters. Lengerke (p. 11), following Ewald, is inclined to maintain that such errors are numerous among the variations of these two texts. This view not only affords an easy way of accounting for the various omissions, but especially meets the case of such variations as the following:—v. 13, Sam. בָּעֵרָו, Ps. . . . . עֵבְיוּ עִבְרוּ בָרָד וּ; v. 15, Sam. בָּרָק, Ps. וּבְרָקִים רָם; v. 33, Sam. מִעֵזִי, Ps. הַמֵּאֲזִנִּי; where, in each case, the text of Samuel looks like a mechanical fragment of the other text, so much injured as to need some serious cause to account for the injury. Some of the cases of confusion of similar letters, and some of the omissions of the ך, might be due to this cause.

2. Errors arising from confusion between cases where the presence or absence of ' or ך was a question of *Scriptio*, and cases where the ' or ך was a root-letter. From the nature of the case, such a class of errors is peculiar to the criticism of the Old Testament text. If, at any stage, any systematic revision of the text took place with a view to completing the system of the *Scriptio Plena*, amid the somewhat wholesale insertion of ך's and 's, one or two might be inserted where they were not wanted. If, on the other hand, it may be supposed that scribes were inclined at times to economize time, space and labor, they might, in some cases, revert to the *Scriptio Defectiva*, and sometimes might omit, as quiescent, a ך or ' really a root-letter. To one of these causes might be attributed the following

variations:—v. 26 (Sam.) גבור, (Ps. XVIII.) גבר; v. 36 (Sam.) ויענתך, (Ps. XVIII.) ויענותך; v. 42 (Sam.) ישעו, (Ps. XVIII.) ישועו; v. 45 (Sam.) לשמוע, (Ps. XVIII.) לשמע.

We have yet to notice a few variations that could scarcely be quoted as simple cases of any of these groups.

V. 8 (Sam.) מוסדות השמים, (Ps.) מוסדי הרים:—Various ideas of fitness, etc., might give rise to such a variation. If הרים is original, השמים might be substituted as an antithesis to the preceding הארץ. If השמים be original, הרים might be suggested through the connection of the idea of רגז with הרים. In verse 13, the presence of ברך וגחלי אש at the end might serve to account for either the insertion or omission of the same clause at the end of verse 14. Sam. (v. 38) ואשמירם, Ps. ואשיגם:—This may be either a sort of error of confusion of words of similar sense, limited by an attempt to preserve similarity of form and sound; or it may be the result of partial obliteration of letters in the original text. Sam. (v. 39) ולא יקומון, (Ps.) ולא יכלו קום:—The reading of the Psalm looks somewhat like an explanation or amplification of Samuel. Lengerke, however, emphatically approves of the reading of the Psalm; in this case the text of Samuel may be due to mutilation of the original text. Thenius, however, maintains that the אכלם, read by Samuel in the previous verse, belongs to the original text, and suggests that יכלו is somehow due to a misplacing and mis-writing of this word. The alteration of the position of ישמעו לי in v. 45, and of בנוים in v. 50, may be an error of sight or memory. The reading of the Psalm משברי חבלי for משברי חבלי; it is scarcely a case of substitution of synonyms, and may be an error of sight or memory.

## II. EXTENT OF THE VARIATIONS.

As our object in noticing the extent of the variations is to compare it with the extent of the variations between other texts, we may omit mere variations of *Scriptio* as being of a special character. We may also omit variations of pointing, for a similar reason.

With these limitations, we find that, out of about 500 words in the text, about 130 (counting all omissions) are affected by the variations; that is to say, about one in four. Such variation is much more extensive than between two MSS. or two texts of a passage of the Greek Testament. For instance, in Matt. II., out of about 440 words, about thirty are affected by the various readings of Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles; that is to say, about one out of fourteen. Again, 1 Chron. XVI. 8-22, and Ps. CV. 1-15, give two texts of a part of a Psalm; and here the variations only affect eight words out of one hundred, or about one out of thirteen. In other cases of parallel texts, in different parts of the Old Testament, the variations are more numerous, but seldom so numerous as in this case.

### III. DISTRIBUTION OF READINGS CONTAINING DIFFICULT OR UNUSUAL EXPRESSIONS.

1. In the text of Samuel:—Verse 12, חֲשֶׁרֶת; v. 25, כְּבָרִי; v. 26, גְּבוֹר; תָּמִים; v. 27, תִּתְכַּבֵּר, תִּתְחַלֵּל; v. 28, רָמִים תִּשְׁפִּיל; v. 29, וְאַתָּה; v. 33, נִירִי יְהוָה; v. 36, וְעִנְתָּךְ; v. 40, וְתוֹרִנִּי; v. 41, תִּתָּה; v. 46, וַיִּחַגְרוּ.

2. In the text of Ps. XVIII.:—v. 6, סִבְבוֹנִי; v. 11, וִידָא; v. 15, וּבִרְקִים רֶם; v. 23, מְנִי.

It is difficult to determine what is sufficiently unusual to put in such a list. The above are, however, such as may be considered either, (1) sufficiently unusual to lead a scribe to correct them; or (2) sufficiently unusual to give rise to a suspicion of carelessness in transcription.

### IV. THE TEXT OF THE LXX.

1. The LXX. versions of Samuel and Psalms are both agreed in supporting the text of Ps. XVIII., against the text of Samuel, in the following instances:—In v. 7, the versions of the LXX., instead of repeating the same word for “cry,” as in Samuel (אֲקָרָא אֲקָרָא), have two different words, as in Ps. XVIII. (אֲקָרָא אִשְׁוֹעַ). The second word in Samuel is βοήσομαι, and in Ps. ἐκέκραξα. This variation seems to show that, in each case, the LXX. is based on a Hebrew text; and that it is not a case in which one of the two versions of the LXX. has been adapted to the other. In v. 12, the LXX. of Sam. inserts ἀποκρυφῆν αὐτοῦ with the text of Ps. XVIII. In v. 16, the LXX. of Sam. inserts καὶ with Ps. In v. 25, the LXX. of Sam. has κατὰ τὴν καθαρίσθητα τῶν χειρῶν μου with the כְּבָרִי יְדִי of Ps. XVIII. In v. 39, the LXX. of Sam. has nothing to represent וְאֵכֶלֶם, though A adds καὶ τελέσω αὐτούς. In v. 43, the LXX. of Sam. has nothing to represent אֲרַקְעֵם.

2. Both versions agree in supporting the text of Samuel in the following cases: In v. 14, the LXX. of Psalms has nothing to represent בָּרַד וְנַחֲלִי אֵשׁ. In v. 36, the LXX. of Psalms renders עֲנוּתְךָ as παιδεία and this rendering seems rather to refer it to עֲנָה than עֲנִיָּה.

3. In v. 15, the reading of the LXX. of Sam. καὶ ἡστραψεν ἄστραπην with the expression בָּרוֹק בָּרוֹק in Ps. CXLIV. 6 and the readings בָּרַק in Sam. and בָּרְקִים רֶם in Ps. XVIII. suggest an original reading בָּרַק בָּרְקִים (so Thenius). It is, however, possible that the LXX. of Samuel is simply a double rendering of בָּרַק.

Thus the LXX. inclines to the text of Ps. XVIII., but various facts tend to minimize the authority on the LXX. in a case like this. We are ignorant of the circumstances under which the translation was made; but we know that later on the text was, so to speak, re-assimilated to the Hebrew, and disturbed in other ways by the Hexapla. Nor does it seem unlikely that, in such a case as this, parallel accounts in the LXX. as in the Greek Testament have been harmonized in the present text.

The Vulgate of Sam., while in some instances inserting what the LXX. omits, is in others still more closely assimilated to the text of Ps. XVIII., and this process of assimilation seems carried still further in the Syriac (see Thenius).

These phenomena of the later translations seem to point to a continuous tendency to harmonize the text of Sam. to that of Ps. XVIII., and suggest that the LXX., the Vulgate and the Syriac illustrate different stages of the operation of the tendency.

The translation in Jerome's Hebrew Psalter consists of the Vulgate translation of Sam., corrected to the Hebrew text of Ps. XVIII., with a few expressions borrowed from Jerome's Roman and Gallican revisions of the Old Latin. The text is mainly the same as the Hebrew.

#### V. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TWO TEXTS.

1. Samuel. *a.* Frequent use of the *Scriptio Defectiva*. *b.* Numerous unusual expressions, especially grammatical forms, see III. *c.* Tendency to repeat the same words, see B. 3. *d.* According to Delitzsch, the rhythm is often less complete than in Ps. XVIII. *e.* There are six קרי's, while there are none in Ps. XVIII.

2. Psalm XVIII. *a.* Use of the *Scriptio Plena*. *b.* According to some commentators more appropriate poetical language, style and rhythm.

3. The differences. It has been noticed that while the differences are similar in character to those between MSS. of the Greek New Testament, they are much more numerous than is the case with the differences between such MSS. The bulk of the differences merely affect the grammatical form and the style of the composition. The meaning can scarcely be said to be seriously affected in any case, so that, as far as meaning is concerned, the general effect is the same in both cases. But the version in Samuel seems to impress many commentators as rougher and more prosaic than that in Psalms.

#### VI. EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

Before attempting to deduce any results from the previous arrangement and discussion of the text and its details, it may be well to set down what is known of the history of these texts. We may fairly assume that, before the Psalm was incorporated in the Psalter and the Book of Samuel, it was written out in a separate form. Later on the Book of Samuel was included in the volume called נביאים and the Psalter in that called כתובים, and later still these volumes together with the תורה were included in one book. It is also generally supposed that the volume נביאים was collected earlier than that of כתובים. We also know that at first Hebrew MSS. were written in the ancient irregular Hebrew character and that, probably during the period following the return from the captivity, this ancient character was superseded by the more regular square Chaldee character.

During the second and third centuries B. C. the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek at Alexandria, probably by Alexandrian Jews, different

parts being translated at different times and by different translators, so that the translations of this Psalm are or were originally independent. Then early in the Christian era Latin and Syriac translations were made, the Latin directly from the LXX., the Syriac largely influenced by it. In the fourth century A. D., Jerome revised the Latin translation from the Hebrew.

There were also other Greek translations in the second century A. D., but these were mostly wanting in these sections, or do not present any important variations.

Also, it is probable that for a long time there were current in the synagogues oral Chaldee translations or Targums, but the written Targums are too late to be of much use.

Finally, we know that early in the Christian era a school of Jewish teachers, commonly called the Massorites, devoted themselves to the study, arrangement and pointing of the text, and to them we owe it in its present form.

#### VII. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TEXTS CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

We will now try to combine our two sets of data, namely, the character of the differences between the texts and the known history of the texts.

We start with the Psalm as originally composed, probably, according to most authorities, by David; or even if not by David, yet in his time and under his auspices. Lengerke (p. 50) suggests that it may have been for some time transmitted orally, and that some of the various readings may have arisen from this cause. Such an oral transmission is probable enough in itself and might readily be included among the possible alternative causes of errors. But the differences between the texts as we now have them are not specially of the kind that arise from oral transmission. At any rate, the differences of these texts as compared with the synoptic records of the oral tradition of the Gospel are by no means of the same character. The proportion of verses left entirely unchanged is much larger here. It is true that the parallel passages Matt. vi. 24 and Luke xvi. 13; Matt. vii. 3-5, 7-11 and Luke vi. 41, 42; xi. 9-13 are almost identical, and the small variations which do occur are similar in character and even fewer than those of our sections; but the fact is most easily accounted for by supposing some documentary relation between the sections in Matthew and Luke. Thus we can scarcely maintain that the present texts give any clear indications of oral transmission.

We come, therefore, to an original copy of the Psalm, and may fairly suppose that for a longer or shorter time copies were made of this single Psalm and that during this period divergencies would begin to arise. In this stage we have a special opening for corruption of the text. A copy of a short work passing from hand to hand as a small roll would be exceedingly obnoxious to mechanical injury,

whereby the beginning and end of the roll, the edges and even the body of the text might be mutilated, or the writing obliterated. The danger of such mechanical injury would be diminished when the separate Psalm was incorporated into a larger volume. Lengerke (pp. 11 and 50) following Ewald assigns this cause for some of the alterations, and it has already been shown that many variations may be most readily explained in this way.

Here we may ask, When did the divergence between our two texts begin? It is, of course, possible, as some suppose, that the author wrote the Psalm in two forms, and that the Samuel text connects by a series of copies with one form and the Psalm text with the other. It is also possible that both texts may be linked by connecting copies with some copy made long after David's time. If the copy from which the divergence begins is very old, then the agreement of the texts thus obtained may be equally late. It seems probable that the divergence began before the separate Psalm was incorporated into larger volumes, and certainly before it was incorporated in either Samuel or Psalms.

For this view the following reasons may be assigned :

1. Editors of collections of Psalms would naturally be those connected with the choral services of the temple; while the writers of annals seem to have belonged to the schools of the prophets. Diverging copies must soon have arisen, and editors belonging to different schools would be likely to have different copies.

2. There are various readings which seem to be best accounted for by referring them to the early period of the history of the text when a small copy would be specially exposed to mechanical injury.

3. If the divergence began after incorporation in the books of Psalm and Samuel, one text must have been borrowed from the other at a pretty advanced stage, and it ought to be possible to trace the dependence of one text on the other. But it is now generally agreed that this cannot be done.

4. It is alleged that תתכר etc. are popular forms. The alteration of a correct form into a popular form is more likely to have taken place before incorporation into a history than afterwards.

It should, however, be noticed that the text of the Book of Samuel in general is considered to be of the same rough and mutilated character ascribed to the text of this Psalm in Samuel. Accepting for the present this view of the character of the text, it may be said that if the Book of Samuel was compiled largely from fragments similar in textual character to this Psalm, the character of the text might well be the same throughout the book.

In order to work out this question thoroughly it would be necessary to examine the state of the text in other early historical books; which again would involve the discussion of even wider questions.

We may also ask at this stage, What was the state of the text when the divergence began?



But the grounds for an answer are very slight. We might more or less successfully construct the text from which the two diverged, but we could not say how far this text accurately represented the original or how far it was corrupt.

Leaving therefore the period during which the Psalm was copied separately, the next step is its incorporation into larger volumes. It is generally maintained that the Psalm had formed part of smaller collections before being incorporated in 2 Samuel and Psalms. It is difficult to resist the arguments by which many critics maintain that the Psalter in its present form was evolved by progressive integrations, in small collections of increasing size from the original individual Psalms. It is also generally supposed that the Book of Samuel rests on earlier documents.

Hence we have no ground for supposing that the transition from the copy of the individual Psalm to the volume of either Psalter or Samuel was immediate, but rather that there were intermediate stages of incorporation.

Now there are two main kinds of incorporation; smaller books may be copied together on to a larger roll, or may be in some way combined, merely for convenience and safety, as heterogeneous pamphlets are sometimes bound together for a library. This process need not affect the text except negatively, by checking the process of mechanical injury. Again the materials may be arranged to form a history, or edited as a collection of poems. The occasion of such an editing is an opportunity and a temptation for adapting the materials to the taste of the editor; a poem, however, introduced as a poem into a history or a hymnal is less likely to be modified than a narrative introduced into a history. As many of the variations probably arose in the period between the first including of this Psalm in some small historical fragment or some small collection of poems, and the final editing of the Psalter or the Book of Samuel in their complete form, it may be well to consider what changes were likely to take place in this period.

It is likely on the one hand that the oftener a text is copied, the more various readings there will be; but on the other hand, the circumstances which lead to frequent copying may tend to preserve the accuracy of the text, and the circumstances under which copies are seldom made may afford few safeguards for the text.

Frequent copies imply manual dexterity on the part of scribes, a wide knowledge of the text and copies to compare with. These circumstances would tend to limit and correct careless errors, while the absence of such circumstances implied in few copies would leave an opening for careless blunders in transcription and for the repetition of these blunders. But this technical ability, unless combined with a very critical spirit, would tend to introduce another class of various readings, namely, corrections to the approved grammar, orthography and style of the time of the copyist. Moreover at each stage of incorporation, whenever a fresh collection or arrangement of Psalms was made, or a set of annals re-edited, the

editor would naturally read through his materials in as critical a spirit as he might be capable of; he would be more likely to notice details of style and grammar than the mere scribe, and might consider that his position warranted him in correcting them. Thus we may conclude that the text oftener copied and edited would be more free from mere blunders, but would be more likely to have corrections in style and grammar.

Now it seems likely that Psalms would be both oftener copied and oftener edited than Samuel. Modern critics incline to recognize many editings of the Psalms, and it is a matter of common experience that hymn-books are more in request than histories, and the less literary the age the greater the preference for hymn-books. It seems reasonable to suppose that the same tendency that gives us now countless editions of hymn-books would give rise then to collections of Psalms. Moreover, if these were used, as is commonly supposed, for liturgical purposes, copies would frequently be made for the choir. The people would probably be more familiar with the Psalms than with Samuel, and the version of this Psalm in the Psalter would be better known than that in Samuel.

Hence we might expect the text of Samuel to be rough and mutilated, and the text of Psalms more free from careless blunders, partly because the more frequent and careful copying of the text of Psalms would preserve it from such blunders, and partly because the frequent copying and editing by a somewhat critical school would tend to the smoothing away of what was rough and difficult. Now the fact already shown, that careless readings and doubtful grammar are much more common in Samuel than in Psalms, is entirely consistent with these views.

Lengerke, indeed, says (p. 9), that all critical art was unknown to the Jews till the time of the Massorites, but that the amount of critical art assumed above is very slight.

When this Psalm was first included in a larger work, we cannot say, but we may fairly say that the period of successive editions concluded in the case of one text with the publication of the Book of Samuel, and in the other with that of the Psalter in its present form. It is generally held that the Psalter is later than the Book of Samuel, so we have reason to suppose that the period of editions was longer in the case of the Psalter.

Possibly the inclusion of the Book of Samuel in the collection **נביאים** and the Psalter in that of **כתובים** may have been the occasion of some slight revision.

It is to be noticed that the fact of the two texts of our Psalm being in different sections of the Hebrew Bible implies some slight difference in the treatment of the text.

There are two general changes which probably belong to the latter part of this period, one is the change from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena*, and the other the change from the ancient or Phœnician character to the square character.

As to the change in *Scriptio*, there is an appearance of system about it, e. g., ך regularly in Samuel and ך in Psalm XVIII., and this suggests a conscious revision of the text. It is, of course, possible that the general influence of the tendencies at work upon the text of Psalms had largely introduced the *Scriptio Plena*, and that the change was completed by a reviser. Any such revision would imply some degree of critical feeling and care, and would be the occasion of a careful reading and some study of the text, and so also an opportunity for other alterations.

Again, the change from ancient to square characters would have a three-fold effect:

A. It would check the tendency to one class of mistakes, because letters which had been similar, and so liable to be mistaken for one another, would be so no longer.

B. This change might also be the occasion for other alterations.

C. It would introduce new possibilities of error by rendering similar and liable to be mistaken letters previously unlike.

This change of character seems to have been going on when the volume נביאים and the Psalter were being arranged and completed. The coincidence of these two processes is significant.

We have now brought our text down to the time when the books containing it had assumed their final form, and were written in square Hebrew characters. There are variations which must have arisen after this time, namely, the cases of confusion of similar letters (A. 1. a.); for the similarity of the letters in question does not exist in the older character.

The next landmark in the history of the text is the translation of the LXX. It has already been shown that at this stage we find nearly all the variations between the present texts; so that the extent of variation since is comparatively limited. Here again there is an element of uncertainty in the state of the LXX. text.

It is pretty generally agreed that after the time of the LXX. the different MSS. and versions rest on essentially the same Hebrew text, or else in the case of versions directly or indirectly on the LXX. There come into play the elaborate system of safeguards for the text, together with the point system, and by these means the Massoretic scholars stereotyped one form of the text and prevented further corruption. Wellhausen<sup>1</sup> says (p. 16) that "the Massora brought to stand in mid-flow a hitherto very flowing text," meaning, doubtless, that the Massora suddenly checked a process of change. In fact the Massora did for the text of the Old Testament what the printing of the Textus Receptus did for the New. The result was that it preserved for us in its exact form a text chosen as standard, but

<sup>1</sup> Der Text der Bücher Samuelis.

also that it virtually suppressed that variety of texts and of materials for criticism which might have enabled later scholars to determine a true text. Besides this, the acceptance of an authorized text put an end for centuries to critical work on the text. It is also probable that this somewhat sudden stereotyping of the text led to the adoption of recent blunders and their interpretation, when the continuation of a free criticism would naturally have eliminated them. For instance, in v. 12, the reading **חִשְׁרָת** of Samuel may be a blunder of the scribe, found in some MS. to which special importance was attached; and in the natural course of things, it would have been corrected by comparison with other MSS. to **חִשְׁבָּת**, but owing to some arbitrary Massoretic canon, intended to enforce absolute loyalty to the text as received, it may have been preserved.

We will next discuss directly two main questions noticed incidentally in the note on the history of the text :

I. Did the divergence of the two texts arise from revision or merely from errors of transcription ?

II. Which of the two texts is the most ancient and which the more correct ?

One group of commentators hold that both are Davidic, and therefore both correct texts; among these critics are Alexander, and Neale, and Hengstenberg. It is adopted in the Speaker's Commentary, and alluded to as evident by Scrivener in his introduction to the Criticism to the New Testament. Eichhorn and de Rossi are inclined to attribute some of the variations to a Davidic recension.<sup>1</sup>

Schultens attributes the variations to a revision,<sup>1</sup> and Gramberg<sup>2</sup> attributes the text of Samuel to a late revision from the Psalm-text, so too De Wette.<sup>2</sup>

But the bulk of modern critics, while admitting more or less revision, assign most of the variations to errors of copyists, amongst these are Hammond,<sup>3</sup> Clericus,<sup>3</sup> Kennicott<sup>3</sup> and Rosenmüller.<sup>3</sup>

Most critics maintain that the text of Psalm XVIII. is the more correct; but many admit that the text of Samuel is the more ancient. This view is held by Ewald, who says "The copy in the Psalms is certainly the later . . . . must have proceeded not from Samuel, but from another ancient and very good source . . . . the good and original text is so strongly divided among the two;" also by Olshausen. Delitzsch is clear in his preference for the text as in Psalms, but admits that the Samuel-text seems to be of great antiquity. Böttcher speaks of the Psalm-text as a Priest-recension and the Samuel-text as a lay-recension.<sup>4</sup> It will be a matter of opinion whether a text would undergo more alteration in the hands of the temple authorities or amongst laymen. He also, however, expresses an opinion, which is endorsed by Thenius, that "the Psalm-text is fuller and purer, but that, in Samuel, though faulty, in places preserved in form more true to the original and ancient text."<sup>5</sup> Lengerke admits readings from both texts, and leaves

<sup>1</sup> Lengerke, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Lengerke, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Rosenmüller, Scholia *in loco*.

<sup>4</sup> Delitzsch *in loco*.

<sup>5</sup> Thenius *in loco*.

some doubtful, but he favors the Psalm-text, though he holds that the orthography of the Samuel-text is more ancient.

With some critics the balance inclines to Samuel; Bleek says (II. 251) "2 Sam. xxii. gives the original readings, not everywhere, but very usually." Prof. Kirkpatrick, in his note on the subject, in the appendix to the Second Book of Samuel, in the Cambridge Bible for Schools, gives the following decision with some reserve: "The text in 2 Samuel, although in many respects defective, is as a whole the better representative of the original form; and that the text in the Psalter has been subjected to a careful revision of a later date, in which peculiar forms, which perhaps were 'licenses of public usage,' have been replaced by classical forms; unusual constructions simplified, archaisms and obscure expressions explained."

Some, on the other hand, give a very strong verdict for the Psalm-text. Lowe and Jennings incline to such a judgment. Hitzig attributes the variations to a modification to prose forms, and a carelessness of copying characteristic of the historical books; Delitzsch seems to incline to this opinion. Hupfeld seems to be strongly of this opinion.

Before discussing these questions it seems necessary to define the word "revision." It may be used to signify a complete examination of the text and a modification of it to suit the views of the reviser, and in this case all the variations might be due to such a revision as, for instance, the defenders of the Davidic recension maintain. But Prof. Kirkpatrick explains the "careful revision" he speaks of, in terms which seem to imply merely a literary revision, not intended to affect the sense. But besides this, every copyist has opportunities of revision, and both the phenomena of MSS. and our knowledge of human nature lead us to suppose that they used these opportunities. Such use is one of the ordinary elements of the corruption of the text in copying, and scarcely needs to be called a revision. A revision, therefore, must be systematic and intentional; it may extend to the sense or limit itself to the style.

I. We now return to our first question:—Did the divergence of the two texts arise from revision or merely from errors of transcription?

It will be convenient to take, as representing the views of those who maintain that *all or most* of the variations arose from a recension, the arguments of Hengstenberg. His first argument, that to admit errors of transcription would open the door to conjectural emendations, is evidently worthless as argument, though it has its weight as a warning against hasty judgment on so important a subject. He next maintains that the variations of these parallel texts are due to revision, because elsewhere in the Old Testament the variations of parallel texts are due to revision.

To this it may be answered that there are variations between other parallel texts which can hardly be accounted for except as errors of the copyist (e. g., the

reading  $\text{Yā}^{\text{'}}\text{ré } \text{ōr}^{\text{'}}\text{gîm}$  in 2 Sam. xxi. 19): and further that the variations in this case are of a different character from those in other cases of parallel texts. For instance, elsewhere the divine names are systematically altered, and not so here. Also in parallel texts that bear the signs of revision, there is not the same number of variations that can be explained by the confusion of similar letters.

He next argues that the alleged carelessness of copyists is only imaginary; because neither text suggests carelessness by itself, but only when compared with the other. It may be said that in Samuel, at any rate, there are obscure and unusual expressions which must attract attention. In the absence of any parallel text and any system of textual criticism, it was impossible to say more than that they were obscure and unusual; but with the parallel text before us, presenting plain and intelligible readings, it becomes at least a reasonable theory that obscurity may have arisen through carelessness. It is understood in New Testament criticism that obscurity may indicate a defective text, though an alternative intelligible reading may be only a plausible emendation.

He next alleges that *many* of the various readings could not arise from mistakes; but, on the other hand, it has been shown by many critics that *most* of the readings could have so arisen. The classification given above seems to show this.

Lastly, he points out that many of the variations may be explained by the tendency of a reviser to substitute for unusual expressions more grammatical forms and better known words. But nobody doubts that many of the variations, as Prof. Kirkpatrick also maintains, might be due to a reviser or revisers; but when the former argument, that many of the various readings could not arise from mistakes, has been shown to be, at any rate, excessively limited in its application, this last argument loses much of its force. The very same tendency that would lead a reviser to prefer more usual and grammatical expressions, would lead to a similar preference on the part of copyists and editors, and would give rise to both conscious and unconscious alterations. The series of copyings and editings would of course involve conscious alterations, which might be considered a casual and continuous revision. It has already been suggested that there was some systematic revision of orthography in connection with the change from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena*. Similarly, it is probable that some reviser may have taken in hand the task of completing that change to later and more correct style which had been already very largely brought about in the process of transmitting the text. Prof. Kirkpatrick's view, that the changes of style are due to a careful revision, does not differ essentially from this. The result in each case would be the same, and the choice between the two views is a matter of *a priori* probability. One other objection to the view that most, if not all, of the variations arose in the ordinary course of transcription, is the number of variations. It has been noticed that the extent of variation in proportion to the length of the text is much greater than that between MSS. of the Greek Testament.

The answer to this is that the circumstances of transcription were much more likely to give rise to errors than in the case of New Testament MSS.

These circumstances are as follows :

1. The absence of written vowels, tending to deprive the copyist of the help to be derived from a ready grasp of the meaning of words copied.
2. The change from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena*.
3. The change from Phœnician to square characters.

In the case of such changes as 2 and 3, the copyist largely loses the help derived from sight. He depends more on sense.

4. The less literary character of the times.
5. The fact that the Psalm was probably contained successively in what may be called successive editions of books.

On these grounds we maintain that any systematic revision, except in connection with the change to *Scriptio Plena*; any Davidic or other recension, while by no means intrinsically impossible, is not required either by the character or the number of the variations; and that the variations are sufficiently accounted for by copyist's mistakes, together with such casual alterations as would naturally be made by copyists and editors, and probably a revision confirming and supplementing these alterations in the matter of style.

## II. Which text is the more ancient and which the more correct?

Here again the terms used are a little ambiguous. In one sense the two texts may be said to be of the same age, both in their final form dating from the completion of the *Massoretic* text. Probably what is usually understood by the question is : " Was the text used by the compiler of the Psalter more or less ancient than that used by the author of Samuel ? " Here again there is ambiguity. Which compiler ? Is there any special interest and importance in determining the form of the text as the last editing of the Psalter rather than at any previous stage ?

Perhaps the question may be restated so as to represent more clearly the point at issue. As to readings that affect the integrity and sense of the Psalm, critics seem inclined to give the preference to the Psalm-text, and the considerations that determine their decision in individual instances are mostly so subjective as to make any comprehensive discussion of these variations very difficult. There remain the readings which affect the orthography, grammar and mere form of expression. With respect to these it is pretty generally agreed that the orthography of the Samuel-text, the *Scriptio Defectiva*, is the more ancient.

There remains the question which seems really at issue under this head. Was the style of the original text polished and correct, or rough and popular ? Has the style been marred, as Hitzig, Hupfeld and in part Delitzsch maintain, by the careless way in which the historical books were written and preserved ; or has an originally rough style been gradually smoothed by a critic or critics of a later and

more literary time? (The latter view is Prof. Kirkpatrick's.) Is the style of the Psalm-text or of the Samuel-text nearer to the original?

Putting into definite shape and supplementing what has already been said incidentally, the balance of argument seems to be in favor of the Samuel-text.

It has already been pointed out that popular forms were more likely, if not original, to creep into the text, when the Psalm was circulated alone, than when it formed part of a historical work. Consequently such readings would be old.

It is also to be noticed that the view that the Samuel-text has degenerated from an earlier text with a poetical style like the Psalm-text, seems to imply a uniformity of poetic style from the time of David to the Restoration; for the "poetical characteristics" of the Psalm-text supposed to have been reduced to prose in the Samuel-text seem to be found also in the Psalms of the Restoration. Moreover, if we accept the view that the Psalm was written by David, we remember at once that a certain roughness of style is supposed to be a characteristic of Davidic Psalms. The history of David's life as shepherd, warrior, outlaw and king does not suggest either opportunity or inclination for acquiring a refined poetic style.

Also the fact of a correction from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena* plainly shows the possibility of a similar correction in other matters, whether by a gradual half-unconscious process or by a deliberate revision. We have also the analogy of the New Testament texts in which the bad grammar and bad spelling and other offences against a later and more critical taste were gradually eliminated. We may also refer again to the probable frequent copyings and editings of the Psalm-text as occasions for alterations.

Thus on this last question we may conclude that, however defective and possibly mutilated, yet in form and expression the Samuel-text is nearer to the original. It is possible that its relation to the Psalm-text is similar to the relation of Codex D to some good MSS. of the Byzantine group. In essentials the Byzantine MSS. might be the more correct, and yet Codex D is older, its orthography and style are older and its text is of much greater critical value, because often from the obvious mistakes of an early uncorrected text we may gather what was originally written; while the plausible correction of a copyist or editor destroys the traces of the earlier reading.

#### VIII. THE TENSES.

In the Samuel-text there are thirty-six changes of tenses, in the Psalm-text thirty-three, and in sixteen cases one text has a change of tense where the other has not; in most instances this difference depends on the insertion or omission of a Waw Conversive (Consecutive). Though the number of changes is so nearly the same in the two texts, yet there seem to be traces of an attempt in the Psalm-text to reduce the variety in the tenses. For instance, in vs. 38, 39 in the Samuel-



text there are five changes of tenses, and in the Psalm-text none. In other cases it seems as if some copyist of the Psalms had begun by altering a tense so as to avoid a change, but had neglected to change the connected tenses; for instance in v. 7 a change of tense is avoided in Ps. XVIII. by reading **יִשְׁמַע** for **וַיִּשְׁמַע**, but a fresh change is introduced by reverting to the tense of Samuel in **וַתִּגְעַשׁ** of v. 8. Similarly with **יִרְעֵם**, **וַיִּרְעֵם** and **יִתֵּן** of v. 14.

In the LXX. and the Latin versions the changes are much fewer. This seems to be the result of a struggle between a desire to represent the Hebrew tenses accurately and a sense of what was due to Greek and Latin idiom. The changes of tense that do occur in these versions mostly coincide with changes in the original.

#### IX. WAW (ESPECIALLY CONVERSIVE OR CONSECUTIVE).

The number of variations, that consist in the omission or insertion of a Waw, is specially noticeable.

Out of thirty-three Waws prefixed to tenses twenty-five occur in both texts, six in Samuel only, two in Ps. XVIII. only; out of thirty-three Waws prefixed to other words twenty-seven occur in both texts, one in Samuel only, five in Ps. XVIII. only.<sup>1</sup> Of the eight Waws prefixed to tenses omitted in one text or the other five are immediately followed by Yodh.

These facts show a special tendency to vary in the matter of Waws, most frequently in the case of Waws prefixed to tenses. A similar frequency of variation, in a somewhat smaller degree, occurs in New Testament texts in the case of *καί, δέ, γάρ*, etc. The greater frequency of variation between our texts may be accounted for by the opportunity afforded by change of *Scriptio*, the similarity and insignificance of ך and ם in square characters, and possibly (see above) by a tendency to alter tenses. The result seems to be that in the Old Testament we may add to the usual carelessness about conjunctions, an additional liability to variation arising from the above causes.

Such a result would have some bearing on the theory of the Hebrew Tenses, because the presence or absence of a Waw may make all the difference between an easy or a difficult construction. In some cases, for instance, in the historical books, where the long succession of narrative tenses, construable according to the old view as pasts, is broken by an isolated tense which should according to the old view be translated as a future, but can only be translated as a past, in such cases the difference might be due to the loss of a Waw.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This reckoning excludes cases where the omission or insertion of ך is due to an alteration in the context or structure of the rest of a sentence, and among these the ך of ך׃ in v. 26 is excluded. But it includes the ך before **בְּרָקִים** in v. 15, before **אֲשֵׁנִים** and its parallel in v. 38. The ך before **וַיִּבְרַךְ** and its parallel in v. 48 is reckoned as a ך before a tense.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., **וַתִּשְׁרַח** Exod. viii. 20.

## X. SUBJECTIVE CRITICISM.

A study of the critics who deal with this question shows how widely such doctors disagree on questions as to the merits of a passage or its harmony with the context. For instance, Ewald speaks of the Psalm-reading in v. 2, אֶרְחֶמֶךָ יְהוָה חֲזָקִי as "so peculiarly appropriate that we cannot see why it should be wanting in Samuel except through a copyist's mistake;" Lengerke, however, who in many respects follows Ewald, calls it "Inanis...et frigidus versiculus." So again Ewald says of the Samuel-reading "יִמְנוּסִי" etc. in v. 3 "certainly preserved in its entirety in Samuel; for מִשְׁנֵבִי stands in the Psalm quite abruptly and confusedly;" according to Hupfeld the Samuel-reading is "very superfluous." Again as to the various readings in v. 28, Sam. 'עַל רָמִים ת', Ps. וְעֵינַי רְמוֹת תִּשְׁפִּיל, Hupfeld speaks of the Samuel-reading as "sinnlos," while according to Delitzsch it is "eine der sinnreichsten Varianten."

In more purely critical questions there is more agreement, or at any rate it is more easy to understand why the critics differ.

In this connection Ewald's exhaustive denunciation of most other commentators in the introduction to his work on the Psalms is interesting; and we feel that there is something of poetic justice in the reference to Ewald as an "over-rated scholar" in a well-known Cambridge work on the Psalms.<sup>1</sup>

This "disagreement of doctors" lends some support to the student's natural inclination to protest against the right of a German or English critic of the nineteenth century to decide dogmatically what was appropriate or in good taste for David ten centuries before Christ.

## XI. CANONS OF CRITICISM.

We have attempted to show that the variations between these two texts may, at any rate in most cases, be arranged under the same head as the variations of Greek Testament MSS. It may also be interesting to notice in what cases the canons of Greek Testament criticism would at first sight be applied and how far they would hold.

We take first the canon: *Brevior lectio anteponenda verbosiori*. The cases where this might be used are where one text contains words omitted by the other; or contains a shorter text as מַעֲוֵי חֵיל of Sam. xxii. 83, and בָּרָק of Sam. xxii. 15. However, this canon does not seem to be appealed to by critics, probably because they felt that the influence of possible mutilation and carelessness renders it inoperative.

Again: *Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua*. The character of the difference between the two texts affords ample scope for the application of this canon, and if it be admitted it will be decisive for the originality of the general style and form

<sup>1</sup> Jennings and Lowe, i. 70.

of the Samuel-text, though in some instances, as in וִידֵא Ps. xviii. 11, it would favor the Psalm-text.

Again: That reading is to be preferred which will explain the origin of the variations. Amongst other readings where this canon might be applied perhaps the best case is in v. 15, where the reading וּבְרָקִים בָּרָק would serve to explain the Samuel-text בָּרָק, the Psalm-text וּבְרָקִים רַב; the variant in Ps. cxliv. 6 בְּרוֹק בָּרָק and the LXX. καὶ ἡστράψεν ἀστραπήν.

Again in I. B. 8 (γ), there are cases to which we might apply the canon that in parallel passages a verbal dissidence rather than a verbal concordance is to be preferred. But it is doubtful whether the parallelisms are not too short, and consequently too little conspicuous, to have excited the harmonizing tendencies of copyists.

# MENE, TEKEL, PERES, AND THE FEAST OF BELSHAZZAR.

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Among the enigmatical passages of the Old Testament, there is possibly none which has stimulated to a higher point the curiosity of the exegetes, and provoked more numerous and more divergent comments than the one which contains, in the account of the feast of Belshazzar, these three mysterious words, popularized in the form Mene, Tekel, Peres,—a form which has originated from the ancient Greek and Latin versions of the Aramean Book of Daniel.

Without making a pretence of giving a decisive solution of this philological problem, I wish to try to place it in new terms by introducing an element which—as far as my knowledge goes—has not yet been considered, and which seems to me to play an essential role. I hasten to say that the considerations which are to follow are independent of the question yet under discussion, of the real date of the Book of Daniel, of its historic value and of the environment to which the author may have belonged; they will preserve their import, if indeed any be accorded them, in each of the more or less plausible systems between which, in that respect, modern criticism is divided.

## I.

Every one recalls the truly thrilling picture in which the biblical writer paints for us this supernatural manifestation of divine judgment followed, with so brief delay, by its execution.<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of a grand feast, the sumptuousness of which has passed into a proverb, Belshazzar, king of Chaldea, gives the order to bring the vessels of gold and silver of Jehovah, taken from the temple in Jerusalem by his father Nebuchadnezzar, and in company with his guests, male and female, drinks from them in honor of the gods of Babylon. At this moment he sees a hand appear before the candelabra which lighted this impious orgie, a hand which writes upon the plaster of the wall of the hall some incomprehensible words. Terrified by this prodigy, the king summons immediately his astrologers and diviners, and promises them the highest rewards if they succeed in deciphering this inscription and furnishing the interpretation. But all the science of the Chaldean Magi remains in default. The queen arrives and counsels the king to summon Daniel, who had given proof of his wisdom under Nebuchadnezzar, and had been made by him chief of the astrologers and diviners.

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel v.

Daniel is brought before the king; and after recalling the misdeeds of Nebuchadnezzar and sharply admonishing the son, worthy of him, despiser of Jehovah, he continues in these words:

24 Then was the part of the hand sent from before them, and this writing  
25 was inscribed. And this is the writing that was inscribed,

מְנָא מְנָא תֶּקֶל וּפְרָסִין  
mĕnĕ mĕnĕ tĕqĕl ū-pharsîn

26 This is the interpretation of the thing: Mĕnĕ, God hath numbered (mĕnāh)  
27 thy kingdom, and brought it to an end. Tĕqĕl, thou art weighed (tĕqĕl tâ)  
28 in the balances, and art found wanting. Pĕrēs, thy kingdom is divided<sup>1</sup>  
(pĕrīsāt) and given to the Medes and Persians (Pārās).

Upon this Belshazzar accords to Daniel the promised rewards (though the latter, according to the account, had begun with a refusal of them); that very night he is slain, and Darius the Mede seizes the kingdom.

It is clearly shown from this story that the task incumbent on the interpreter of these prophetic words was double; it was a question first of deciphering, then of explaining them. It would be idle and, in any case, it will not be in my plan to search for what cause the decipherment presented a particular difficulty. Was it a question, in the thought of the author, of an unknown writing, or simply of an unaccustomed disposition of known characters? The rabbins are pronounced in favor of the second hypothesis and, giving free rein to their imagination,<sup>2</sup> have assumed that either the characters belonged to a cryptographic alphabet *athbash*, i. e., one in which the first letter has as its equivalent the last:

ט	מ	ח	ג	ר	פ	ך	ד	א	ט	י
ן	י	ס	ר	פ	ו	ל	ק	ת	א	נ

Or that the letters, arranged in three lines in a sort of table, had to be read vertically and not horizontally:

ס	ו	ת	מ	מ
י	פ	ק	נ	נ
ן	ר	ל	א	א

Some seem to have also thought of a real anagram,<sup>3</sup> which may be represented thus:

מִסְרַפּוֹלְקֵת אֲנִימָאֵם

I do not insist upon these more or less dangerous conjectures, the last of which is perhaps the most plausible, since it is more simple than the first and has the advantage over the second that it might have appeared in the manuscripts without breaking in an offensive manner the regularity of the lines.

<sup>1</sup> Or, as some critics translate, *broken, destroyed*.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, J. Levy, *Neuhebraeisches und Chaldaeisches Woerterbuch*, under the words מִסְרַפּוֹלְקֵת, אֲנִימָאֵם.

<sup>3</sup> See Levy, *op. cit.*, § 5, אֲנִימָאֵם.

I only mention them as a matter of curiosity, although we shall be able further on to draw from them an indirect argument. I will devote myself exclusively to the question of interpretation. A circumstance by which we cannot fail to be struck, but to which we possibly do not accord all the importance which it merits, is that the interpretation attributed to Daniel does not agree rigorously with his decipherment.

This agreement exists only in the Greek and Latin translations. These translations in verse 25, after the phrase "this is the writing that was inscribed," substitute for the five words of the original Aramean text *mēnē mēnē tēqēl u-phārsin*, the transcription *μάνη, θεκελ, φάρες*, *mane, thekel, phares*, of the three words *mēnē*, *tēqēl*, *parsin* which stand only in verses 26, 27 and 28 of the original, verses which have for their object the giving of the signification.

Hebraists, guided by the Massoretic vocalization, which is not, be it said in passing, without singular anomalies,<sup>1</sup> are generally agreed in recognizing that the five words of verse 25 ought to be rendered literally as participles, numbered, numbered, weighed and they are dividing;<sup>2</sup> accepting as well founded this translation which, even from the grammatical point of view, does not escape from all criticism, and which yields in any case, we must confess, a phrase partly incoherent, we see that the interpretation given by Daniel to the following verses, regards neither the repetition of the first word *mēnē*, nor the plural form of the last word *parsin*, preceded by the conjunction ׀ "and." The biblical writer is content to draw from this whole the three essential words, in attaching them to a uniform grammatical type.

*mēnē* "numbered"

*tēqēl* "weighed"

*pērēs*<sup>3</sup> "divided."

He then draws from it, by one of those *jeux d'esprit*, of which the Bible offers many examples, the significations appropriate to the situation which he has in view.

He proceeds for this purpose with a mechanical method, so to speak, which is seen clearly by this simple synoptic table:

INTERPRETATION OF THE SECOND DEGREE.	EXPLANATION OF THE FIRST DEGREE.	WORD TO BE EXPLAINED.
והשלמה	מנא-אלהא מלכותך	מנא 1
והשתכחת חסיר	תקלתא במאזניא	תקל 2
ויהיבת למדי' ופרס	פריסת מלכותך	פרס 3

<sup>1</sup> Particularly for the word *תקל*, which, it is supposed, ought to be equivalent to *תקיל*. Other commentators, without stopping at the vocalization, translate the words as verbs in the Preterite and present Participle: *numeravit, numeravit, appendit et dividunt*. (Buxtorf, *Lex. s. v. תקל*.)

<sup>2</sup> Or "they are breaking," according to some exegetes. I believe that the sense of dividing is preferable, and my theory tends, as will be seen, to confirm this last meaning of the root *פרס*.

<sup>3</sup> The same reservation is to be made on the vocalization of this word as upon that of *tēqēl*.

- |               |  |  |
|---------------|--|--|
| 1. NUMBERED : | { God has <i>numbered</i><br>thy kingdom }           | and has finished it.                                       |
| 2. WEIGHED :  | { thou hast been <i>weighed</i><br>in the balances } | and hast been found wanting in<br>(weight).                |
| 3. DIVIDED :  | { thy kingdom has been<br><i>divided</i> }           | and has been given to the Mede<br>and the <i>Persian</i> . |

This rational analysis shows clearly that every one of the three parallel phrases is divided into parts rigorously symmetrical :

1. The word to be explained.
2. A literal explanation of the word, presenting this word at the head of the phrase, in different grammatical states.
3. A second interpretation following the first, a kind of paraphrase, at once larger and more precise, of the literal explanation to which it is uniformly attached by the conjunction "and." The last word *peres*, furnished even to the author an opportunity for a veritable *doublet* applying in the explanation of the first degree to the verb *per as*, "to divide," and in the interpretation of the second degree, to the name of the "Persians" (*Pārās*). Why, therefore, does not verse 25, giving the decipherment of the mysterious inscription, contain in place of the words *m ě n ě*, *m ě n ě*, *t ě q ě l* u-pharsin, purely and simply the three words *m ě n ě*, *t ě q ě l*, *p ě r ě s*, upon the interpretation of which verses 26, 27 and 28 exclusively revolve?

This question is so natural that the ancient Greek and Latin translators have made no scruple of replying in their way by modifying, as we have seen, the original text of verse 25 in the sense indicated by the logic. They may besides have been influenced by another motive, if the manuscript which they had before their eyes presented the characters composing the phrase in an odd disposition, difficult of reproduction, and similar to those pointed out above, of which the rabbins speak.

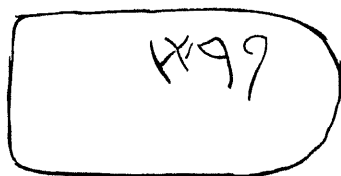
However that may be, this divergence between the deciphered and the interpreted text can scarcely be conceived unless one admits that the biblical author had to do, not with simple words, but rather with a given and prescribed phrase consecrated by tradition, from which he must produce, by alliterations and allusions, certain significations adapted to the circumstances which preoccupied him, i. e., the coming of the Persians.

I will return immediately to this point, which is properly the knot of the question, and, following the example of the author himself, and of the ancient translators, will occupy myself, for the moment, only with the three words *m ě n ě*, *t ě q ě l*, *p ě r ě s*, separated from their connection, reserving for later consideration the entire phrase of verse 25.

## II.

In 1878, in the course of an epigraphic mission, which had been entrusted to me by the Minister of Public Instruction on account of the Committee of the

*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, I had occasion to study in the British Museum the important set of bronze lion weights, from Nineveh, many of which have bilingual inscriptions in Assyrian and Aramean. One of these weights particularly attracted my attention. It is the one upon which is engraved an Aramean word, up to that time generally read קדש, "holy," which was considered an indication of a "weight of the sanctuary" in opposition to the standard weight. A minute examination convinced me that the word ought to be read, in reality, פראש paraš or paras "half, moiety."



This is confirmed by the casts brought back by me at that time, which have been placed in the cabinet of the Committee of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, thus permitting a control of the exactness of this reading.<sup>1</sup>

The lion which bears this inscription having weight perceptibly equal to that of a half of the light mina, it was evident that we had to consider this word paraš, "half," directly as the denomination itself of a fixed ponderal quantity, viz., the half-mina.<sup>2</sup> The Assyrian and, as we shall presently see, the Hebrew-Aramean agree in confirming this reading. Immediately a comparison arose in my mind, that we find in the set of weights from Nineveh, engraved in Aramaicising characters, in a language approaching to Hebrew, the three names of weights,

מנה mānē the mina.

שקל<sup>3</sup> šéqēl, the shekel.

פראש phārāš, the half-mina.

and that by a coincidence, truly singular, these three names correspond in a remarkable manner to the Aramean words of the text of Daniel, mēnē, tēkēl, pērēs. The slight orthographical differences presented by the Aramean forms are all rigorously explained by the well known peculiarities of Aramean compared with Hebrew:

<sup>1</sup> M. Oppert had already recognized the true reading of this word, applied also to Assyrian measures of length, as is evident from the following passage of his memoir upon the Assyrian standard measures and weights: "The words paras and sinip are found transcribed in Aramean characters" (*Journ. Asiat.*, 1874, t. II. p. 431).

<sup>2</sup> The light mina is half of the heavy mina.

<sup>3</sup> The word appears in the plural on the weights שקלו.



The ה of מנה becomes normally א = מנא<sup>1</sup> m ā n ā.

The ש of שקל “ “ ת = תקל<sup>2</sup> t ē q al.

The ס of פרס “ “ ס = פרס<sup>3</sup> p ē r as.

From this it was only a step to conclude that the names of weights<sup>4</sup> designating the mina, the shekel and the paraš, or half-mina, might play a role in the text of Daniel. This step I hesitated for a long time to take, and at first contented myself with communicating to some savants a conjecture which pressed and still presses more and more upon me. I do not believe that I ought to withhold it further from criticism, and after having submitted it, to the best of my ability, to the examination of reason, I now give it to criticism, in the hope that perhaps some part of it may be accepted, even if it be not received with all its consequences

### III.

I think it will be admitted without much difficulty that the three words of Daniel can correspond term by term to the three names of weights.<sup>5</sup> Apart from the phonetic equivalences noted above, even the paronomasias, in which the biblical author delights, come to the support of this identification, and serve as an acknowledgment of it. In fact he aims expressly, in his allegorical interpretation, at the roots

מנה or מנא “to number,”

שקל or תקל “to weigh,”

פרש or פרס “to divide,”

to which every one attaches without hesitation the Semitic names of the *mina*, the *shekel* and the *paraš* (peras) or *half-mina*.

If, then, it were truly a question of these three isolated words, if by misfortune the Aramean original of Daniel had been lost and this book had come down to us, like several others of the Old Testament, only by means of the Greek and Latin versions; if, consequently, the phrase was presented to us in the abridged state to which these versions have reduced it, Μάνη, θεκελ, φάρες,<sup>6</sup> *Mane, thekel,*

<sup>1</sup> The form מנא, *mina*, exists in Aramean.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Aramean תקל, *shekel*.

<sup>3</sup> פרס is the *half-mina* in Aramean (פרס של מנת, Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.*, s. v.). In the language of the Talmud, מנת ופרס, *a mina and a peras*, means *a mina and a half*. In various other passages, given in *Neuhebr. und Chald. Woerterbuch*, Levy's s. v. פרס, these two weights are opposed to one another in a way that leaves no doubt of the value of the pērās = *half-mina*.

<sup>4</sup> Of weights or of money; for it must not be forgotten that this is all one in the Semitic languages.

<sup>5</sup> It might be well to note that Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews*, X., 11, 3) renders the three words of Daniel not by verbs, but by substantives, ΜΑΝΗ = ἀριθμός *number*; ΘΕΚΕΛ = σταθμός *weight*; ΦΑΡΕΣ = κλάσμα *fragment*.

<sup>6</sup> It is to be noted, now, that the Greek transcription implies for these words a vocalization differing, in certain points, from that of the Massoretic text, and approaching that which my explanation tends to substitute for it. (See the end of note.)

*phares*. If, therefore, we had to deal only with these three isolated words, the explanation would offer scarcely any difficulty. It is true also that in this case the coincidence would have only a relative interest, and could be considered an occurrence curious enough, but, after all, of restricted importance.

But the original of Daniel has been happily preserved, and the original gives us, in verse 25, not only the *three* words in question, but a phrase of *five* words, where they play a role which remains to be discovered.

We must inquire whether the introduction of this new element of information in the study of the phrase of verse 25 is not of such a nature as to clear up the whole of this obscure text, and to make us see it in a light very different from that in which it has been habitually regarded up to this time.

Let us admit, for a moment, laying aside the Massoretic vocalization, to which even the most scrupulous philologists are obliged here to do some violence, that it is necessary to read these three isolated words of verses 26, 27, 28, not *mĕnĕ, thĕqĕl, pĕrĕs*, but *mānā, tĕqāl, pĕrās*, i. e., *mina, shekel* and *half-mina*, and let us apply this reading to the same three words in the phrase of verse 25. We shall obtain then for this phrase, *mānā, mānā, thĕqāl, u-phār-sîn*, "*mina, mina, shekel and half-shekel*."

We establish at first that, while the words designating respectively *mina* and *shekel* are in the singular, that which designates *half-mina* is in the plural, פָּרָס *parsîn*, or *pĕrāsîn*, the regular plural of *pĕras*, פֶּרֶס. This implies already between the first and last word of the phrase, between the *mina* and the *half-mina*, a significant opposition which ought to serve us as a first luminous point in the darkness in which we are gropingly advancing. But we do not yet hold the key of the riddle.

The literal translation "*mina, mina, shekel and half-minas*" does not give us a sense much less disconnected than that of the received translation. It has, however, the advantage over this of showing us some elements pertaining to an order of ideas clearly characterized. But we do not yet see in what manner these elements ought to be combined, in order to form a logical whole, a connected, moving, living phrase. We possess them, so to speak, in a static state, it remains for us to put them in a dynamic state, and to discover whether these words, in place of being simply placed side by side, are not in reality united among themselves by grammatical functions. In this consists the real problem for solution.

Although in Aramean several substantives may follow each other in an enumeration without the interposition of the conjunction "and," employed in similar cases in Hebrew, it is scarcely probable, *a priori*, that this succession of words here constitutes a simple statement of weights, such as: "a mina, a mina, a shekel and some pheras."

## IV.

Let us pause at the first word: *Mānā*. It is twice repeated: *Mānā*, *mānā*. Is this, then, a simple repetition, *mina*, *mina*, with which we have to do, a rhetorical figure, or, on the contrary, a phenomenon of syntax?

In Aramean and in general in the Semitic languages, the repetition of the same substantive, without the intervention of any other word, is a grammatical process capable of expressing different things: e. g., the idea of a great quantity, when the substantives are in the plural,—*בִּירִין*, *בִּירִין* *pits, pits*, i. e., “nothing but pits,” Gen. xiv. 10; but here *mānā* being in the singular, the idea of plurality ought, it seems to me, to be put aside; or the idea of partition, which is expressed by our word *every*,—*עֲרָא עֲרָא* *flock, flock*, i. e., “every flock by itself,” Gen. xxxii. 16; *עַמָּא עַמָּא* *people, people*, i. e., “every people;” *נָבַר נָבַר* *man, man*, i. e., “any man,” Num. ix. 10, etc.; or moreover an idea of distribution, an idea connected with the preceding,—*דֵּנַרְיָא דֵּנַרְיָא* *denarius, denarius*, i. e., “every one a denarius;” *כְּלָל כְּלָל* *two, two*, i. e., “two by two;” *מֵאָל מֵאָל* *hundred, hundred*, i. e., “by hundreds,” Mark vi. 40, etc.; finally, an idea of diversity,—*עֲמָל עֲמָל* *evil, evil*, i. e., “different evils,” Mk. ii. 17; *לִשָּׁנָא לִשָּׁנָא* *tongue, tongue*, i. e., “different tongues,” John v. 4; Acts x. 46, etc. In all these cases the repeated substantive remains in the singular. This is the case in this passage. We might, then, endeavor to see if these words *מִנָּא מִנָּא* *mina, mina*, would not signify, in the phrase of Daniel, of which they form the commencement, something like “every mina, mina by mina, mina to mina, by every mina, for every mina,” or even “different minas.” But there is still another possible manner, and one well conformed to the Semitic genius, of construing these two consecutive words, *mānā*, *mānā*; that is, to regard the first as subject and the second as attribute of a small phrase where the verb *to be* is understood: *mina* (is) *mina*, i. e., *a mina* (is) *a mina*; as in Hebrew also *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי* *Jehovah my God*, i. e., “Jehovah is my God.” But we will leave provisionally this question in suspense, and reserving equally the word *tēqal*, which comes after, pass immediately to the last word of the phrase, *פַּרְסִין*, *parsin*.

## V.

*Pārsin*, or *phērāsīn*, has the proper form of a plural. But is it really a plural? The *peras* is, as we have seen, a “half-mina;” i. e., to make one mina, two *peras* are necessary. Given the presence, at the beginning of the phrase, of the word *mānā*, “mina” in the singular, nothing would be more tempting, if we had before us a Hebrew and not an Aramean text, than to ask if, in place of the plural, we have not here a dual, which is distinguished, as we know, only by a very slight vocalic variation, perceptible only in the Massoretic pointing; and if, in place of reading *parsin half-minas*, we ought not to read *parsain two half-minas*.

It is true that Aramean seems to have allowed the dual to fall into disuse; and that is a serious objection. It has, however, preserved some traces of it which appear in the very language of the book of Daniel: כַּיָּדַי<sup>1</sup> *in the two hands*, רַגְלַי<sup>2</sup> *the two feet*, שְׁנַיִן<sup>3</sup> *the teeth* (considered as distributed in two rows). Syriac has preserved the form of the dual in the numerals: ܬܬܐ *two* (masculine), ܬܬܐܐ *two* (feminine), ܬܬܐܬܐ *two hundred*; and in the geographical name ܡܝܨܪܐ *Egypt*, an imitation of the Hebrew מִצְרַיִם. At any rate, there is a passage in Daniel<sup>4</sup> where it seems that the plural has at least the function of the dual:

עַד-עֵדֶן וְעַדְנִין וְכַלְגַּ עֵדֶן

*to a time, times and half a time.*

'Yddānīn *times* can only be the equivalent of 'iddānāin *two times*,<sup>5</sup> in this phrase which, from the declarations of all the exegetes, contains the precise indication of a period of time numerically determined,—a year, two years and a half year, i. e., three years and a half.

Consequently, even according to the Massoretic vocalization of the word פָּרְסִין *parsin*, all the respect which it perhaps does not deserve, we find ourselves sufficiently protected by this precedent to attribute to פָּרְסִין the value of *parsain*, and to translate by *two peras* or *two half-minas*, if the context points in that direction.

## VI.

The word *parsin*, or *parsain*, is preceded in the text of Daniel by a ׀, representing, as every one admits, the conjunction *and*. If this word *parsin*, which closes the phrase, is indeed a substantive, it is to be supposed that the word *tēqēl*, to which it is bound by the conjunction, ought to be a word of the same nature as it, i. e., another substantive. We have already shown that *tēqēl* or *tēqal*<sup>6</sup> is a rigorously exact equivalent of the Hebrew substantive שֶׁקֶל *šéqēl*, designating the "shekel." Under these conditions the phrase to be explained could strictly end תִּקְלָא וּפְרָסִין..... *a shekel and two peras*.

But it will scarcely be perceived by what association of ideas a shekel (the word is in the singular), which is a very small fraction of a mina (the sixtieth or the hundredth, according to the system), is found in this brief phrase placed with two *peras*, the *peras* being half of the mina. Supposing even that it is a question of a simple enumeration of certain weights (which is scarcely probable), one

<sup>1</sup> Daniel ii. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, vii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, vii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, vii. 25.

<sup>5</sup> In spite of the fact that, in the corresponding passage of chapter xii. (verse 7) of the Hebrew part of the Book of Daniel, עֲדָנִין is servilely rendered by the plural מְעַדְנִים, and not by the dual מְעַדְנִים.

<sup>6</sup> This is the form which the segholate substantives of Hebrew take in Aramean: *késēph* *silver* becomes *kēsāph*.

would expect to find those weights enumerated in an order regularly increasing or decreasing,<sup>1</sup> and to see the lighter weight, the shekel, named after the *pēras*, as it is after the *mina*. How shall we escape this difficulty, which seems inextricable? It consists entirely in the presence of the ך, which, coupled with the word *parsin*, can certainly only be the conjunction *and*.

But is the ך really in its place? Does it really belong at the beginning of the word *parsin*, which follows it? Might it not perhaps belong to the end of the word *tēqāl*, which precedes? Ought we not to regard with caution the way in which our editions cut this phrase, a phrase which early became enigmatical. The usage of the *scriptio continua*, which is a proved fact in ancient biblical manuscripts, authorizes us to ask if the compact group of letters, in place of being cut into תקלו פרסין, ought not to be פרסין תקלו.

In this case the ך would become an integral part of the word *teqāl*, and we should be freed from this conjunction *and*.

If there was any foundation for the hypothesis, which the rabbins, to explain the difficulty of decipherment, have put forth on the unusual disposition of the characters of the inscription, we could draw from them an argument to render still more admissible the very slight fault of the copyist. The biblical texts show greater ones than this.

We can see, in fact, that, for example, in the arrangement in three vertical columns explained above, the ך which is at the head of the fourth column is forcibly separated from תקל and placed near פרסין.

The anagrammatical arrangement which I have described as likewise possible, and which has perhaps really existed in certain ancient manuscripts, would also be able to favor the mistake.

## VII.

The ך being attached to the word תקל, the arrangement of the phrase is entirely changed. What can תקלו be? If we were working upon a territory purely Hebrew, one could see in this ך the pronominal suffix *o* of the third person of the masculine singular joined to a substantive. *Tēqāl* could be taken rigorously

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<sup>1</sup> It is this which had prompted me to ask for a moment if *peras*, the proper sense of which is "half," did not designate, in place of the *half-mina*, a very small weight, such as the *half-shekel* (the Hebrew בקע, *bēqāʿ*), or even the *obol*. But I do not believe that it is necessary to pause with this idea, the sense of *half-mina* for *peras* being too categorically established by the Assyrian and Aramean lexicons, and confirmed by the weight itself of the lion bearing the inscription *paraš*, a weight which is sensibly that of the weak *half-mina*. I ought to recall, however, that the Greek version of the LXX., in disagreement on this point with the version of Theodotion, followed by the Vulgate, and with the original Aramean itself, places these three words in an order which would be more conformed to the hypothesis of a regularly decreasing enumeration, Μάνη, Φάρες, Θεκέλ. But the version of the LXX. offers for the whole Book of Daniel such divergences from the original, it is so plainly removed from it, that it is not necessary to pay any attention to this variant, and that it would be imprudent to lend it here, against documents infinitely superior, an authority which, from antiquity, has been properly refused it.

in the general meaning of weight, which is the primitive sense of the name of shekel, although we should rather expect, in this case, the derived form מתקל (משהל) mathqal. The expression would then signify, *his weight is two peras*, which, compared with the expression מנא מנא, considered as intended to mean *a mina is a mina*, would furnish a sense sufficiently plausible: "a mina is a mina; its weight is two peras" (in other words, two half-minas).

In place of being a nominal suffix, the י restored to tēqāl could be also—continuing always to reason from the point of view of Hebrew—a verbal suffix, the verb תקל, tēqāl, the equivalent of שקל, šāqāl, signifying "to weigh." It would then be with a verb and not with a substantive which is derived from it, and which designates the shekel, that we have to do.<sup>1</sup> In this case the little phrase could be translated: "he has weighed it," or, "weigh it," according as we read תקלו in the Preterite or תקל in the Imperative.

But we must reject these hybrid forms. We have to deal with a text too thoroughly Aramean to permit us to treat the י as a suffix in the Hebrew manner, replacing the Aramean forms ה and ה.

In Aramean the י of תקל could only be the product of a verbal inflection. Two forms are possible:

either תקלו "they have weighed;"

or תקל "weigh"

פרסין becomes then the direct object of תקל.

If tēqal is a verb in the second member of the phrase, one would be led to infer that in the first member מנא = mēnā is equally a verb and that there is a parallelism in the employment of the two correlative verbs mēnā mānā, tēqāl ū pārsain "he has counted a mina [and] they have weighed two peras. But it seems then that the two members of the phrase, thus opposed the one to the other, ought to be connected by the preposition ו, and; I deem it wise to resist the temptation to make the ו which is between tēqāl and pārsain serve for this purpose, making it leap over tēqāl, to place it before it, although by this adventurous expedient one would obtain a rather tempting balance mēnā mānā, (u-)tēqāl pārsain, "he has counted a mina and weighed two peras;" or in the Imperative<sup>2</sup> mēnē mānā, (u-)tēqul pārsain, "count a mina and weigh two peras." I should not like to go that far. Contenting myself with the

<sup>1</sup> The transcription Μάνη, θεκέλ, φάρες, whatever may be the absolute value in the point of view of the original vocalization, implies at least a relative difference between these three words. Μάνη and φάρες, forming a group characterized by the vowel *a* of the first syllable, different from θεκέλ, the first syllable of which has an *e* in place of an *a*. If the translator had considered תקל as of the same grammatical form as מנא and פרס, he ought, it seems, to have transcribed it θεκέλ, and not θεκέλ. One sees that this distinction corresponds plainly to that to which I find myself led in regarding מנא and פרס as substantives, and תקל as a verb.

<sup>2</sup> But we find in Daniel the form מנ (chap. iv., verses 15, 18).

<sup>3</sup> מנא for מני or מני.

simple glide of the ך, I accept the reading תִּקְלוּ, a word which signifies "they have weighed" in the Preterite or "weigh" in the Imperative.

If this verb was in the Preterite, by making use of the different meanings, enumerated above, of which this reading מִנָּה מִנָּה, mina mina, is susceptible, we arrive at the following combinations:

1st By taking פֶּרָסִין as a plural: "mina by mina, they have weighed the peras."

2d By taking פֶּרָסִין as a dual: "for every mina, they have weighed two peras."

If the verb תִּקְלוּ was the Imperative, the combinations would be:

1st "mina by mina weigh the peras."

2d "for every mina weigh two peras."

3d "a mina is a mina, weigh two peras!"

It would be easy to multiply these combinations.

For example, accepting the conjecture which a number of qualified exegetes have supported, viz., that תִּקְלוּ is for תִּקְלוּ = תִּקְלוּ weighed, in the past Participle passive, one could translate, according to the Aramean rule which forms with the Participle Pē'il a real inflective Preterite passive, תִּקְלוּ (= תִּקְלוּ) by *have been weighed*, and consider the two members of the phrase as constituted thus:

מִנָּה מִנָּה *has been counted a mina, or*

מִנָּה מִנָּה *he has counted a mina;*

תִּקְלוּ פֶּרָסִין *have been weighed two peras.*

We may compare, in this respect, another passage of Daniel:<sup>1</sup>

דִּנְא יְתִב וְסִפְרִין פְּתִיחוּ *the judgment was set and the books were opened.*

### VIII.

But I pause in this track, where I leave to philologists more minute than I the task of pushing it further. It suffices me to point it out to them, and I shall content myself for the present with this conclusion: The two extreme and essential terms of the phrase in Daniel are two names of weights of which one is double the other, placed in relation by a third middle term, which is either a third name of weight (that of *shekel*), or the verb *to weigh*, from which the name of *shekel* is derived.

Across the last doubts which may still obscure the precise sense of the phrase so understood, one easily catches the movement and is conscious of the aroma of a sort of proverbial sentence, or popular saying, revolving upon the relation of the mina to the half-mina<sup>2</sup> and belonging perhaps to that order of

<sup>1</sup> vii. 10. Verse 24 of the passage which we are studying, furnishes itself an example of this construction, and that exactly with the inversion of the verb and subject which we have here: שְׁלִיחַ פָּסָא דִּי-יִדָּא וְכַתְּבָא דְנָא רְשִׁים, "the hand has been sent and this writing has been traced." The same, in verse 28: פְּרִיסַת מַלְכוּתֶךָ, "thy kingdom has been divided."

<sup>2</sup> Possibly by allusion to the difference between the light and the heavy mina, which ought to be divided the one and the other into two corresponding peras in the same proportional relation of 1 to 2.

ideas with which our modern locutions are connected, such as: "two make a pair," "two and two make four," "six of one and half a dozen of the other," etc. We may also compare for this image of isoropy, of equipoise, employed to express by analogy the idea of equivalence or the identity of two things, the Greek expressions: Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τιθέναι πλάστιγγα, ἰσόρροπον πλάστιγγα ἔχειν, ἰσόρροπον πλάστιγγα ταλαντεύεσθαι.

It is very remarkable that these two words of *mānē* and *pērās*, "mina and half-mina," opposed, as here, to each other, are directly employed by the Talmudic authors in a metaphorical and proverbial manner well adapted to confirm that impression, at the same time coming to the support of the paremiological value which I propose to give them in the Book of Daniel. To the rabbins a son who is worth less than his father is a *pērās*, son of a *mānē*, פֶּרַס בֶּן מָנָה; a son who is worth more than his father is a *mānē*, son of a *pērās*, מָנָה בֶּן פֶּרַס; a son who is worth as much as his father, a *mānē* son of a *mānē*, מָנָה בֶּן מָנָה.<sup>1</sup> It is not impossible that there was some allusion of this kind in the intention of the biblical author borrowing this aphorism from the wisdom of nations.

It is this which seems to come out of the long discourse with which Daniel introduces his interpretation. This discourse is divided into two parts: the first recalls the faults, followed by repentance, of Nebuchadnezzar, father of Belshazzar; the second, which sums up those of Belshazzar, begins with this apostrophe, "And thou, Belshazzar, his son, hast not humbled thy heart,"<sup>2</sup> etc., an apostrophe which emphasizes well the desire of the author to establish a parallel between the father and son.

## IX.

Some may perhaps consider it strange that this phrase written by a celestial hand on the wall of Belshazzar's festal hall, that this sentence of the destiny that ruled the lot of the last king of Chaldea, should be finally reduced to a simple saying, and to a saying so commonplace, so prosaic, that it might have been quite as well scrawled on any wall by the hand of the first malcontent, and might belong to this "wall" literature, not very lofty, which belongs to all times and to all peoples.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the examples in J. Levy, *op. cit.*, under the words פֶּרַס and מָנָה. So the two celebrated Moabites, the prophet Balaam and the king Balaq were both of them a "mina daughter (son) of a half-mina," since they were said to be greater than their respective fathers. Compare also in the same order of ideas, the proverbial locutions: חָלָא בֶר חֲמָרָא "vinegar son of the wine;" אֲרִי בֶן אֲרִי "lion, son of lion," and אֲרִי בֶן סִיעָל "lion, son of the jackal."

<sup>2</sup> Verse 22.

<sup>3</sup> The exegetes who have believed that they recognized in the feast of Belshazzar certain personal allusions to the deeds of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes,—e. g., to the sumptuous and dissolute feasts given by Antiochus to Daphné (Hitzig, *Das Buch Daniel*, p. 78),—admit, without difficulty, I believe, the adaptation of some popular scoff directed at that bitter enemy of the Jews who had pillaged the treasure of the temple and who also, having taken refuge at Babylon after the check experienced at Elymais, had been chastised by the hand of the Persians, con-



To this objection it would be easy to reply by citing the analogy of certain oracles of pagan antiquity, which are distinguished by their strangeness and by their intended platitude. And besides, in the case of Daniel, is it not exactly this contrast, this disproportion between the littleness of the means and the grandeur of the intention, which was the better fitted to strike vividly the imagination? What, in fact, is the scope of this story in which the author proposes to show the fall of the empire of Chaldea? Belshazzar casts defiance at the God of Israel, who replies by a menacing prodigy. A hand sent from above writes upon the wall a phrase which all of the most skilled wise men of Chaldea are not able, with all their science, to read or to explain. Is this phrase, then, something impenetrable, something very abstract? Not the least in the world. It is all simply, as the Israelite prophet establishes, an adage of the common people, a proverb known to all. How easily does this prove the nothingness of this pretended science of the Magi, and gives the measure of this greatly vaunted wisdom which is held in check by so slight a difficulty. The author has a visible tendency to find in default this Chaldean science. In two places already, in the preceding chapters,<sup>1</sup> he has shown the weakness and ignorance of the Magi in their attempts at the interpretation of the two dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, the key to which Daniel alone was able to give. This time the demonstration is decisive. The Magi are not able to recognize in the mysterious inscription a saying which is upon every lip. First result. Yes, but from this profane saying, which, once deciphered, ought, it seems, to be understood by the whole world, Daniel goes on to draw a hidden divine meaning, and to obtain an effect so much the more considerable as it was unexpected. *Vox populi, vox dei*. He takes one by one the words which compose it, and, using one of the favorite methods of the Hebrew prophets, a double sense of these words, by paronomasia he causes some significations appropriate to the events in view to burst forth. The word which lends itself best to this was assuredly the last, *pārsîn* or *parsaîn*, which had the admirable advantage of making possible the most seducing equivocation upon the name of the Persians.

It is not bold to suppose that it is this word which has determined, among all the others, the choice of this saying as a fundamental theme of the prophecy relative to the coming of the Persians and the ruin of the empire of Babylon.

considered as instruments of the divine vengeance (Fl. Josephus, *Antiq. jud.*, XII. 9, 1; Macc., I. 3, 31:8). Compare מְדַבֵּר, *Māvη*, and the sobriquet 'Επιμανής, foolish, furious, into which the official surname of Antiochus, Επιφανής, the *illustrious*, was corrupted. In this case, the phrase taken as the text of the story of Daniel would be no longer, to speak properly, a proverbial sentence, but a kind of double-faced epigram, borrowed from the actual circumstances of the moment: The *mina* (Antiochus) has counted (and) the *peras* (Perses) have weighed (i. e., payed). It is known that the expedition, as the result of which Antiochus had to succumb, had for its object the recovering of the overdue taxes owing by the Persians. We must not lose sight of the fact that Syriac employs precisely the word ܡܢܐ to designate the tax of which the passage of the Book of Maccabees speaks (I. 3, 29).

<sup>1</sup> Chap. ii. and iv.

The whole of the fifth chapter of Daniel may be considered as the brilliant placing of this subject, to which it serves as a frame, and which remains, in the last analysis, the principal generating element of the whole piece.

## X.

I say, the principal element; for it is not the only one. As to the details of this scene, the actors who figure there, the attitudes they take, the roles they play, the accessories which constitute the scenery, it is, I believe, by the iconological method that we must seek an explanation. I understand by iconology, the generation of ideas by figured images, by plastic representations more or less arbitrarily interpreted. If one wishes to understand chap. v. of the Book of Daniel, he must read it again attentively in the light of certain representations of Egyptian and Chaldean origin, which have, in my judgment, exerted a preponderating influence on the mind of the author.

For Egypt, it is the representation, so popular upon bas-reliefs and in the illustrations of the Book of the Dead, of the judgment of souls weighed in the balance, or psychostasy, to which by a very natural association of ideas, the author must have found himself conducted; he has himself made a most direct allusion: "Thou hast been weighed in the balance," says he, "and thou hast been found wanting in weight."

For Chaldea, there is the representation which recurs very frequently upon the cylinders, and which is designated, in default of a better, under the conventional and, I believe, inexact name of "scene of initiation."

If we combine together these two plastic representations, we obtain the very model of the painting of the feast of Belshazzar, with all its details and all its incidents; the king seated upon a throne in the great hall of the feast and drinking from the sacred vessels; the banqueters; the inscription traced upon the wall; the candelabra lighting the scene; the Magi stupefied before the inscription; the queen presenting herself to the king; Daniel introduced in her presence explaining the inscription, and dressed in the insignia promised as his reward.

The best commentary which could be given of the fifth chapter of Daniel would be, on the one side, a vignette from the Book of the Dead, representing Osiris, king of Amenti, seated in state in the great hall of judgment; the forty-two judicial assessors and other infernal personages; the goddess Ma (Goddess of Justice) introducing the dead; Thot, the Lord of the divine words, the scribe of the divine justice, now inscribing, now pronouncing sentence; Horus and Anubis examining the weighed; and on the other side, a cylinder<sup>1</sup> showing us a god seat-

<sup>1</sup> Without pretending that the Assyrian scene called the scene of "initiation," is really congenerous with the Egyptian scene of psychostasy, which is not, however, impossible, I cannot prevent myself from remarking that we find here two characteristic details which recall the Egyptian scene: the monkey, (the cynocephalus symbolizing the equilibrium of the balance), and the object in which M. Lenormant has seen a balance (of the steelyard type), and M. Menant an instrument of numeration, the staff of measuring, symbolizing justice (cf. the goddess Ma and her pen).

ed on a throne, holding in his hand a vase for libations; a grand candelabra; an inscription<sup>1</sup> engraved in the body of the scene; two persons,<sup>2</sup> one of whom presents the other to the god; other persons in different mysterious attitudes.

And besides, it is not only the episode of the feast of Belshazzar, but also other most prominent episodes of the Book of Daniel, the conception of which is explained to us by iconology: the two dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, the three young Hebrews in the furnace, Daniel in the den of lions; not to speak of the symbolic beasts which people the visions of the prophet and furnish the matter of his apocalyptic visions.

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<sup>1</sup> The cuneiform legend of the cylinder serving as a seal.

<sup>2</sup> One of them is at times certainly a woman.

## JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY PROF. MORRIS JASTROW, JR., PH. D.,

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Biblical exegesis and Hebrew grammar are naturally closely interwoven with one another. While in general the two may and to-day are kept quite distinct, still there are many instances—notably in the thorny field of Hebrew syntax—where the dividing line becomes exceedingly faint, if not entirely wiped out. The bond uniting the two becomes the closer the further back we go, so that, in the period of which these articles treat, it is difficult to separate the Jewish grammarians from the Jewish commentators of the Bible. Works on Hebrew grammar are invariably interspersed, and in general very liberally interspersed, with disquisitions and discussions of a purely exegetical nature, and the interpreter of the biblical text as frequently trespasses on the field of the grammarian.

### I.

The middle of the ninth century, in more than one respect, marks a turning-point in the history of the Jews. The contact with Mohammedan civilization and the rise of Karaism succeeded in inaugurating a new period of intellectual activity among them. Just as some thousand years previous, the meeting of the Jews with Grecian culture in Alexandria resulted in that remarkable product, the Hellenic-Judaic literature, so the encounter with Islam in Spain and on the northern coast of Africa gave rise to a rich and valuable literature. The great schism in the Jewish church ascribed to Aven about the year 850 of the common era, gave the fresh current a *fixed* direction. Whatever else Karaism may in the course of time have become, it was at its origin a reaction against the overweening authority which the Talmud had acquired. The watch-cry of the movement was "Return to the Bible."

But in thus acknowledging the authority of the Bible alone, Karaism—and this was perhaps its most important result—led to a taking up of a sadly neglected study. The Karaites, as well as the upholders of rabbinical tradition, were forced to study the Bible; the former by the sheer necessity of their principles, the latter in order to furnish themselves with weapons against their opponents. For more than five hundred years the Talmud, to the exclusion of the Bible, had engrossed the thought and attention of the Jews. After the final redaction of the Mishna, in the early part of the third century, the laws embodied in that codex formed the subject of discussion in the various talmudical schools from generation to generation. When about the middle of the fifth century these discussions, constituting the so-called Gemara, were in turn also collected and arranged,

it was now the entire Talmud, i. e., the Mishna and Gemara, which furnished the mental food for the Jews.

The Amoraim (speakers), as those rabbis were termed who lived after the redaction of the Mishna in contradistinction to the Tanaim (teachers), were succeeded by the Saburaim (reasoners), who stood in the same relation to the entire Talmud as the Amoraim to the Mishna. But during all this time, the source of all Jewish tradition, the fountain-head of all laws, ceremonial and otherwise, was neglected. The Mishna took the place of the Bible in the eyes of the Amoraim, and the Talmud in turn was the Bible of the Saburaim—the supreme authority. It was quite natural, therefore, that the Bible itself—and consequently classical Hebrew—was but little studied, since it was but little required. The Talmud was the book of life for the Jews. According to its dictates they regulated their conduct. To the Talmud recourse was had in all cases of doubt, and a decision directly or indirectly derived from it was final. With the advent of Karaism the great change occurred. It is a sufficient proof for the assertion that the Karaitic movement was the direct cause of the revival of the study of Hebrew, that the eminent Rabbi, Saadia, or Saadia Gaon,<sup>1</sup> as he is commonly known, who is the greatest opponent of the founder of Karaism, is also the one with whom the new period takes its rise. It is true there is one who precedes Saadia by a few years, and who well deserves a place by his side, viz., Jehudah Ibn Koreish, but his influence on his cotemporaries was exceedingly limited, and it is only the fact that he was so closely followed by a Saadia that saved him from becoming entirely lost to memory. Still, Koreish must not be omitted among the great commentators and grammarians of the Middle Ages. And since, at any rate, he too is, without question, influenced by Karaism, and thus a product of the times, it is but proper to commence with him, although, as already intimated, and as will be shown still more clearly in the course of these articles, Saadia is the real inaugurator of the new period. We might term Jehuda Ibn Koreish a forerunner of it.

## II.

*Jehuda Ibn Koreish.* As is the case with so many of the men of this period who have left their impress on the course of events, we know but little of the life of Ibn Koreish. Through a notice in a grammatical treatise of the famous Abraham Ibn Ezra,<sup>2</sup> we learn that he was born in Tohart in Morocco. The year of his birth is not known, but from several indications it is clear that he did not live *after* Saadia. Ibn Ezra, in the already quoted passage of Moznaim, which gives a list, chronologically arranged, of prominent Jewish grammarians, indeed places Saadia before Koreish, but this might just as well indicate that Koreish was

<sup>1</sup> Gaon, which is the exact equivalent of the English "Highness," was the title which Saadia bore as the chief of the Talmudical school in Pumbaditha (Babylon).

<sup>2</sup> Moznaim (Preface).

cotemporary with Saadia, and that the latter takes precedence on account of his greater importance. It is probably the safest to place him between 850 and 900. He wrote a book which he called אבן אבן, "father and mother," probably of a lexicographical character. The work is, unfortunately, lost, so that we can only conjecture from quotations to be found in later writers what it contained. A second work of his, upon which his fame rests, is a "Letter to the Jewish Congregation of Fez." It is a plea for the study of Hebrew. From this alone it is clear that he stands under the influence of the Karaite movement. Indeed Pinsker—an authority on the subject—believes that he was a Karaite; but while there are passages in this letter which may be construed as implying a censure of the Rabbanites, this in itself is not sufficient evidence that he was himself a member of the new party. The way in which Ibn Ezra and Menaḥem ben Saruk, and others who are of the party of tradition, speak of him, makes it very unlikely that he was their opponent in religious views. Ibn Ezra, more especially, who loses no opportunity in dealing a blow at the Karaites, would scarcely have mentioned Jehuda Ibn Koreish at all among the *eminent* grammarians, much less spoken in such terms of praise of him as he does, had he known Koreish to have been one of the "Sadducees" as he ironically terms the Karaites. An important fact which must not be overlooked is that Koreish wrote his letter in Arabic, and that, more than this, he shows the importance of a knowledge of Arabic for the study of Hebrew. He is indeed the first, as far as we know, to advocate the comparison of Hebrew with the cognate tongues, and thus laid the foundation for a method which was perfected by some of his successors. He also urges the congregation in Fez, in the most earnest terms, not to abandon the reading of the Chaldaic translation of the Bible, the so-called Targum—a custom introduced in Palestine when the knowledge of Hebrew could no longer be presupposed among the mass of the population—since the "Syriac," as he calls the dialect of the Targum, is of great importance for the explanation of the Hebrew. The language of the Mishna he also declares to be essential for a thorough training in Hebrew, so that, according to Ibn Koreish, Arabic, Aramaic, and the Mishna, ought to be mastered by every student of the Bible. He then proceeds to substantiate his theory by facts. Numerous instances are given of words which are explained by a reference to their Arabic or Aramaic equivalents, as the case may be. It is interesting to observe that Koreish has already a conception, naturally inexact, of the law of "consonantal transition between the several Semitic languages. Thus, he shows that a Hebrew Zayin becomes in Aramaic a Daleth, e. g., זמע is equivalent to דמעא. The whole Risalet—as the Arabic title reads—is divided into three divisions besides the introduction; (a) the explanation of difficult Hebrew words occurring in the Bible, by the aid of the Targum, (b) by the aid of Mishna and also Talmud, and (c) a comparison of the Hebrew with the Arabic. It needs scarcely be said that Koreish's comparative philology is of a very primitive kind. His errors are

frequently of a nature which almost every beginner in Hebrew to-day can verify, but that in no way detracts from his chief merit, which lies in having indicated the way to future investigators. He is still groping in the dark, but he is nearing the right road to a systematic study of the knowledge. It is, of course, impossible to estimate what influence his letter exerted upon the congregation at Fez—with whom he must have stood in high favor—or elsewhere. At any rate, its appearance was a sign of the times, and as such the Risalet is not without its importance even to-day. The minds of the Jews had been turned to the Bible through the platform on which Karaism claimed to stand. Jehuda Ibn Koreish showed that the Bible could only be understood—provided the language in which it was written be understood—in the full sense of the word. The fanciful interpretations of the Rabbis and the arbitrary deductions of the Karaites—both doing violence to the spirit of the Hebrew language as well as of the Bible—would vanish before impartial scientific research. This was the profound conviction of Jehuda Ibn Koreish which breathes in the pages of his Risalet. With his great successor, however, the study of Hebrew begins in real earnest, and the results of the renewed intellectual activity in this sphere are soon seen in the remarkable progress which was made in the knowledge of Hebrew grammar and lexicography, and with this, in the interpretation of the Bible.

# ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF NEKASIM.

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In four post-exilic passages of the Old Testament we find a word נִכְסִים in the meaning of "riches, wealth," Greek χρήματα, ὑπάρχοντα or ὑπαρξίς. Josh. XXII. 8, it occurs along with מְקִנָּה כֶּסֶף זָהָב נְחֹשֶׁת בְּרֹזֶל שְׁלֵמוֹת; Eccles. v. 18, we find עֵשֶׂר וְנִכְסִים; *ibid.* VI. 2, עֵשֶׂר נִכְסִים וְכְבוֹד;<sup>1</sup> so too 2 Chr. I. 11, 12, עֵשֶׂר נִכְסִים וְכְבוֹד.

In the Aramean portions of the Book of Ezra we find for it the form נִכְסִין, constr. מִנְכְּסֵי מֶלֶכָּא דִּי-מִדְתָּ עֵבֶר נְהָרָה, viz. Ezra VI. 8, *out of the moneys of the king from the tribute of the district Abar-Nahara*, i. e., *west of the Euphrates*; and Ezra VII. 26, עֲנִשׁ נִכְסִין, *confiscation of goods or a fine*, Greek ζημιῶσαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα.

Usually the stem נִכְסִ is regarded as a metathesis from כָּנַס *to gather together, to heap up*. This explanation is, for example, retained in the latest edition of Gesenius' Lexicon. Friedrich Delitzsch, on the other hand, thinks (p. 181, n. 1 of his *Prolegomena*) that the word is probably connected with Assyrian nikâsu, which, according to its etymology (?), as well as its ideogramm (?), means something assigned to some one either as a possession or as a deposit.

To this I should like to remark, in the first place, that the long â, in Delitzsch's transcription nikâsu, does not seem to me to be certain. As far as I know, the

<sup>1</sup> LXX.: πλοῦτος καὶ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δόξα; עֲשִׂיתָא : וַאֲקִרָא : עֲשִׂיתָא וְנִכְסֵי וְנִכְסֵי. R. Isaak ben Yehuda Ibn Ghiyath (غياث i. e., غياث) in his Arabic translation of the Book of Koheleth (edited by Jacob Loevy, Leiden, Brill, 1884) has for that יִסְאָרָהּ וּמֵאֵלָּא וּכְרֵאמָהּ, i. e., يسارة ومالا وكرامة.

<sup>2</sup> That מְקִנָּה "tax, tribute," as well as the corresponding Aramean מְדַתָּא go back to the Assyrian mandattu or mandantu "tribute," from Assyrian נָתַן "to give" (= Heb. נתן, SFG. 43, 2), I have already remarked SFG. 16, 4. Why this explanation is attributed to Friedrich Delitzsch in the latest edition of Gesenius' Lexicon (p. 437) I am at a loss to tell. Pognon likewise in his "Inscription de Mèrou-Nérar I.," p. 42, n. 1, remarks: Le mot mandattu, mandatta, qui vient du thème NDN, a passé en syriaque, où il est devenu مَدَّط, pl. مَدَّطَات, without citing my SFG. The combination of בָּלָּ, on the other hand, in the connection וְהָלַךְ מִנְהָּ (occurring three times in the Book of Ezra, viz., Ezr. iv. 13 and 20; vii. 24) with Assyrian biltu "tax" goes back to Oppert (EM. II., 49, 92, cf. de Goeje-Kautzsch in the *Theologische Literaturzeitg.*, 1886, No. 22, col. 509 and has never been claimed by myself. Wâteh-ben-Hazael, p. 12, n. 2, (HEBRAÏCA, Vol. I., No. 4), I cited for it KAT. 377. It might be well to note that the form בָּלָּ which Kautzsch ("Grammar of the Biblical Aramean," p. 100) would explain as a contraction from בָּלָּ seems to me very suspicious. For biltu, constr. bilat (from וָבֵל "to bring," = Heb. הוֹבִיל) we should expect in Aramean בִּלְתָּא, constr. בִּלְתָּ, absol. בִּלְאָ. Besides in Assyrian the expression usually is bilat mandatti "gift of tribute" so that bilat is construct state to mandatti; at any rate, biltu always comes first. Perhaps it would be better to change מִנְהָּ into מִנְהָּ וְהָלַךְ; cf. φόρων πρᾶξιν καὶ συντέλεσμα of the LXX., Ezr. iv. 13.



word is nowhere written *ni-ka-a-su* or *ni-kas-su*. The denoting of the vowel of the second syllable as *â* rests, I presume, only on the supposition, heretofore generally held, that all qital forms are to be assumed in Assyrian as *qitâl*.<sup>1</sup> I have repeatedly shown (cf. *HEBRAICA*, vol I., p. 175) that we must read *šikaru* *strong drink* and *zikaru* *man*, for instance, with a short *a*. The shortness of the *a* is implied by the occurrence of the syncopated by-forms *šikru* and *zikru*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly erroneous is the often repeated assertion<sup>3</sup> that all nominal formations written *qatalu*, in Assyrian, are to be read *qatâlu*. Instances of the form *qâtâl*, with short *a* in the second syllable, in Assyrian, are, for example, *išaru* *straight, righteous* (= *iāšaru*; cf. my SFG. 21, 1), fem. *išartu*, Hebr. *יִשָּׁר*, fem. *יִשָּׁרָה*; *ma'adu* *much*, fem. *ma'attu*, cf. Hebr. *מֵאֵד*; *hatanu* *son-in-law* (cf. Schrader, COT. 126; V R. 5, 2; 40, 36 c) = Hebr. *חָתָן*.<sup>4</sup>

I should, therefore, prefer to read *nikāsu*, a form like Hebr. *לֵבָב* *heart* and *עֵנֵב* *grape*. That *נִכְסִים* did not originate by metathesis<sup>5</sup> from *כְּנָסִים*, but should rather be combined with Assyrian *nikasu*, is quite right; yet the original meaning of *nikasu* is different from that given by Delitzsch. *Nikas* comes from the common Assyrian verb *nakāsu* (Impf. *ikkis*) *to cut off* or *to cut down*;

<sup>1</sup> Hommel, in the Assyrian Index to his *Jagdinschriften*, writes, for example, *שָׁכָר*, *זָכָר* with a long *a*. The same mistake occurs in the latest edition of Gesenius' *Lexicon*, s. v. *שָׁכָר* and No. 189 of the "Schrifttafel" of Delitzsch's "Assyrische Lesestücke," (in the Glossary he gives correctly *šikaru*).

<sup>2</sup> Also Assyrian *צִיל* "rib" (with *צ*<sub>3</sub>), pl. *צִילִין*, is a qital form syncopated from qital. *צִיל* stands for *צִילָה*, *צִילָה*, *צִילָה*. In Arabic we find *ضِلَع* and *ضِلْع* alongside of another.

<sup>3</sup> Vide e. g. Hommel, *Jagdinschriften*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning *חָתָן* I should like to add that the etymology as proposed by Friedr. Delitzsch ("Prolegomena," p. 91) from Assyrian *חְתָן* "to protect" seems to me rather unlikely. The same opinion is expressed by Kautzsch in his review of Delitzsch's "Prolegomena" in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1886, No. 2, col. 508. The correct etymology seems to me to have been indicated by Wellhausen in his "Prolegomena," p. 360. According to him the circumcision of boys is historically explained Exod. iv. 25 as a milder equivalent for the primitive circumcision of young men before marriage. In a note he adds: That this was the original custom is shown by the word *חָתָן* which means both "circumcision" and "bridegroom," or in Arabic [and Assyrian] "son-in-law." This at once explains the meaning of *חָתָן* רֵמִים "bridegroom of blood, blood-bridegroom," in Exod. iv. 25. Even at the present time the primitive custom prevails among some Arabian tribes, just as Shechem in Gen. xxxiv. was compelled to be circumcised before marriage.

<sup>5</sup> On the other hand the stem *נָסַךְ* "to offer" (cf. Dan. ii. 45) *לִנְסָכָה* *libation* might be due to metathesis from *נָסַךְ*. The fact that it is specially used of libations presents no difficulty. In Assyrian, for instance, *נָסַךְ* means libation and then specially "sacrificial lamb," while *נָסַךְ* in Aramean means "lamb" in general; cf. *Prætermissa*, 42, 53: *נָסַכָּה* = *na'je*, pl. *נָסַכָּה* = *na'aj*. The stem *נָסַךְ* has developed the same meanings as the stem *נָסַךְ*.

The latter means "to pour out, to bring a libation," then "to offer" in general, and finally "to expiate, to purify, to cleanse." Similarly *נָסַכָּה* *nasaka* (from which *نَسِيكَة* *nasike* "victim" is derived) in Arabic means "to offer," then "to clean," specially clothes (*غسل*); finally "to be clean, pure, blameless, pious." But all these meanings go back to the original meaning of *נָסַךְ* "to cut off." For the metathesis of *נָסַךְ* to *נָסַךְ*, compare *נָשַׁךְ* "to bite," which appears in Aramean as *נָכַךְ*. In Amharic we have *nasāka* and *nakāsa* alongside of *one, another* in the meaning "to bite."

e. g., kirâtîšu<sup>1</sup> akkis *I cut down his parks*, or qaqqâsu<sup>2</sup> akkis *I cut off his head*.

We have from the same stem a noun niksu (constr. nikis) which means "slaughter, massacre." From the meaning "to cut down" there is developed the meaning "to kill, to slaughter." This is, as is well known, the usual meaning of the stem נכס in Aramean. The Aramean derivative נִכְסְתָא, which is feminine to Assy. niksu, means then "slaughter,"<sup>3</sup> and then, at the same time (like Heb. טֶבַח in טִבְחָהּ טִבְחָהּ Prov. ix. 2), "what there is to be slaughtered," "pecus ad cultrum destinatum," "cattle to be killed," and then "animal to be immolated victim," or "offering"<sup>4</sup> in general, like Assy. nikasu; just as Hebr. זֶבַח means both "to slaughter" and "to offer."

In the three-columned vocabulary ASKT. 108, 4, this Assyrian nikasu corresponds to the ideogram LAG, which, in other passages (ASKT. 22, 439; 71, 10; II R. 38, 11e; V R. 31, 6; Sb. 241) is rendered by qirbânu or qurbânu, i. e., קִרְבָּן.<sup>5</sup> It is preceded by the words qîštu (cf. HEBRAICA, I, 179) *gift*, taklîmu *present*, and nindabû, i. e., Hebr. נִדְבָה free-will offering.<sup>6</sup>

The original meaning of nikasu is, accordingly, "victima, hostia, bloody sacrifice," קִרְבָּן מִן-הַזֶּבַחַהּ, Lev. i. 2. The original meaning of נִכְסִים, on the other hand, is really "pecus ad cultrum destinatum, cattle to be killed," then generally "cattle, herds." And it is from this that the meaning "property, wealth, riches" is developed. In Syriac נכסא possesses not only the signification "wealth," like Hebr. נִכְסִים, but also the original meaning "herds of cattle;" cf. Lagarde, *Praetermissa*, p. 42, 4; l. 51, where נכסא corresponds to the Arabic الذبيح = نكساتا; *ibid.*, l. 55, جماعة الدوابّ والمال والمواشي.

The connection between Lat. *pecunia* and *pecus* is well known. In the same way sugullatu in Assyrian means "herd;" the corresponding Hebrew word סְגֻלָּה, however, "property." On the other hand, the word מְקַנֵּה, which properly means "property," from קָנָה to appropriate, to acquire, has, in Hebrew, exclusively assumed the meaning of "animal property, cattle;" cf. Greek κτηνος =

<sup>1</sup> That the plural of כָּרִי (cf. Heb. כָּר "meadow," Isa. xxx. 23; pl. כָּרִים, Ps. xxxvii. 20 and lxxv. 14) should be kiretu does not follow from the text TSBA. viii. 287, cited by Pinches, II ZK. 159, 1.

<sup>2</sup> For qaqqadsu; cf. Heb. קִקְדִּי, a form like qaqqaru "ground," Heb. קִקְדִּי by dissimilation with גַּח instead of גִּי.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Acts viii. 32, פְּשִׁיטָא : אֵין אִמְרָא לְנִכְסְתָא אֲתִדְבֵּר : ὡς πρὸς βατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἡχῆθη = Heb. פֶּשֶׁתָּה לְטִבְחָהּ יִבֵּל, Isa. liii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Acts vii. 42, פְּשִׁיטָא : נכסתא או רבחתא קרבנות לי : πῶς σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηγάκατέ μοι = Heb. רבחה וקירבנא פְּשִׁיטָא, Amos v. 25, where the פְּשִׁיטָא gives וקירבנא.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mark vii. 11: κορβᾶν ὁ ἐστὶν ὄρεον. Dillmann's remark ("Exodus and Leviticus," 318), that in the other Semitic languages the word is borrowed from the Bible, naturally does not hold good for Assyrian. It is very probable that קִרְבָּן is a Babylonian loan-word. Cf. Wellhausen, "Prolegomena," p. 414.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. for this Johannes Latrille in ZA. I. 37.

κτέανον, κτήμα.<sup>1</sup> In Syriac the word קְנִינָא *property* (Gen. xxxiv. 23, קְנִינִי) is specially used for "animal for riding;" vide Nestle, in ZDMG. xxxiii. 707. Similarly rukûšu, V R. 9, 36, does not mean "property," as Delitzsch, in the glossary to the third edition of his "Assyrische Lesestücke," s. v. רכש (cf. also *Prolegomena*, p. 4), and Lyon, *Assyr. Manual*, p. 130, would have it; but "animals for riding;" cf. Heb. רָכַשׁ (Aram. רִכְשָׁא) and רָכֹושׁ.<sup>2</sup> The passage in the Arabian Campaign of Sardanapalus,<sup>3</sup>—Gammale rukûšešunu ušalliqû<sup>3</sup> ana šûmešun<sup>4</sup> ištâtû<sup>5</sup> dâme<sup>6</sup> u me paršu,<sup>7</sup> 8—means "they cut open the camels, their riding animals, and for their thirst drank the blood and filthy water" (i. e., the slimy, bitter, fetid fluid in the water-cells of the stomach of the camels, in the stomach-cells).

The result of our investigation, accordingly, is that Hebr. נִכְסִים *wealth*, as well as Assyrian nikasu *offering*, come from the stem nakâsu *to cut off*, while the stem נָסַךְ *to offer*, from which Arabic نَسِيكَة *nasîke victim*, and Hebrew נִסְכִּים, Aram. נִסְכִּין *libation*, are derived, seems only to rest on a metathesis from נָסַךְ.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly מְרִשִּׁית, fem. pass. Part. of רָשָׁה (Impf. יִרְשֶׁה) "to possess," then also "to grant, to allow," means in Assyrian "herd." Assy. מְרִשִּׁית is feminine to the form مَغْفُول just like Assy. מְרוּחִית "wife," which Zimmern, "Busspsalmen," p. 43, n. 2, erroneously considers as an abstract form maf'al. So too Assy. מְנִירִית, fem. מְנִירו, "bond-man," cited by Zimmern, represents the form مَغْفُول just as Assy. מְשִׁתִּית or מְלִתִּית "drink," etc., etc.

<sup>2</sup> The development of meanings of רכש is accordingly quite different from that proposed in Gesenius' Lexicon.

<sup>3</sup> This word is important for the passage Bechor. 45a, where it is told of the pupils of Rabbi Ishmael שלקו וזנה אחת שנתחייבה שריפה למך, which Levy translates quite correctly "they anatomized a harlot who had been condemned by the government to death by burning." To this Fleischer remarks in his addition to Levy's Chaldee Lexicon, p. 579: "This 'anatomizing' is in such entire opposition to oriental practices, and is so little in accord with the usual meanings of שלק, سلق that for the present I must doubt the correctness of this translation." These doubts are settled by the Assyrian יִשְׁלְקוּ. The Impf. Qal of this verb is יִשְׁלֹק and occurs V R. 4, 69: לִישְׁנֵשְׁנו אִשְׁלֹק "I cut out their tongues."

<sup>4</sup> Assy. צִיִּם "thirst" (V R. 31, 4 šu-u-mu) is = צָמָא, צָמָא; cf. SD. 517, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Notice here the use of the form אִתְעַל of שָׁה "to drink," on account of the following אֵן צִמְיָשֵׁן "for their thirst."

<sup>6</sup> Plene da-a-mu Sb. 223.

<sup>7</sup> The correct reading and translation of this difficult word was first given by A. Delattre; see his interesting essay on *L'Asie centrale dans les inscriptions assyriennes*, Bruxelles, 1885, p. 115, n. 2. He remarks there to me-paršu: littéralement "des eaux de paršu." Paršu est l'équivalent de l'hébreu פָּרַשׁ "excrement" de la même racine פָּרַשׁ. But he wrongly translates "urine"! The Hebrew פָּרַשׁ which occurs in six passages of the Old Testament, viz., Exod. xxix. 14; Lev. iv. 11 (נִקְרְבוּ וּפְרִשׁוּ); vii. 17; xvi. 27; Num. xix. 5 (יִשְׂרָף עַל-פְּרִשָּׁה יִשְׂרָף) Assy. (דְּמִישׁ עֵרִי פְּרִשֵּׁשׁ יִשְׂרָף; Mal. ii. 3, does not mean "excrementum" like פָּצֵא, but "fimus interior corporis, fimus in ventriculo animalis," "contents of the viscera," "contenu d'un ventricule" just as the corresponding Arabic فَرْث farth. An important parallel passage to this דְּמִישׁ (cf. וּפְרִיָּה דִם Sanhedrin 67b) is Sennach. v. 83, which I have for the first time correctly explained in my translation of the cuneiform account of the Battle of Halule, *Andover Review*, May, 1886, p. 546, 12.

<sup>8</sup> A complete translation of this highly interesting text has been given by me in the *Études archéologiques, linguistiques et historiques dédiées à Mr. le Dr. Leemans*, Leide, E. J. Brill, 1885, pp. 139-142. Cf. *HEBRAICA*, Vol. II., p. 248.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

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FEMININE PLURAL OF VERBS.—In the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* for June, 1886, p. 111, I called attention to the form **צַעֲרָה**, Gen. XLIX. 22, as apparently a plural form, and not, as usually supposed, a singular verb used with a plural noun. The passage reads **בְּנֵת צַעֲרָה עָלַי שׁוּר**. A similar case occurs in 1 Sam. iv. 15, **וַעֲיִנִּי קָמָה**, where, however, a few codices read **קָמוּ** (cf. 1 Kgs. XIV. 4). Now, in the Hebrew verb, we find in the Imperfect a distinction between the endings of the feminine and masculine plural. In the cognate languages this distinction exists not only in the Imperfect, but also in the Perfect. In Assyrian we find (permanative) the masculine plural, third person, ending in *û*, the feminine in *â*; as, *šaknû*, *šaknâ*. The same is true of the Western Aramaic; as, **כְּתַבְהָ**, **כְּתַבוּ**. The Samaritan and Syriac distinguish the feminine gender by *î*, instead of *â*, the latter adding also the letter *n*. Thus we have in Samaritan *qatalû*, *qatalî*, but in Syriac *q'ṭalûn*, *q'ṭalîn*. Turning to the South Semitic, we find the Ethiopic in agreement with the Assyrian, while the Arabic, although possessing a separate form for the feminine, has obscured the original ending. Thus we have in Ethiopic *nagalû*, *nagalâ*, but in Arabic *qatalû*, *qatalna*. As endings of the masc. and fem. plural in the Imperfect, we find: Hebrew, *û* (*ûn*), and *nâ*; Western Aramaic and Syriac, *ûn*, and *ân*; Samaritan, *û*, and *ân*; Assyrian, *û* (*ni*), and *â* (*ni*); Ethiopic, *û*, and *â*; Arabic, *ûna*, and *na*. Comparing these forms, I think we may make bold to assert that in the original Semitic language the masculine plural of the verb throughout ended in *û*, the feminine in *â*. It accordingly becomes reasonable to explain the forms **צַעֲרָה**, Gen. XLIX. 22, and **קָמָה**, 1 Sam. iv. 15, as survivals in the language of the Northern Kingdom of the ancient use, which was lost in classical Hebrew (but compare possibly 1 Kgs. XIV. 6, and Micah i. 9).

This comparison would seem, also, to make it evident that the feminine plural ending **נָה** in the Imperfect of the Hebrew verb has resulted from an original *â* by insertion of the weak euphonic letter **נ**, as in **נָנִי**, etc. It may further be suggested that the reason why the feminine plural became obsolete in the Perfect of the Hebrew verb is to be found in the peculiar development of the feminine singular; for, whereas in all the other languages of the Semitic family, the ending *at* has been retained as the feminine ending in the third person singular (Samaritan has an alternative form in *â*), in Hebrew the ending *â* has been substituted. This produced an inconvenient identity of form between the singular and plural, which

resulted in the loss of the latter. In the Imperfect, moreover, the Hebrew seems to have lost the sense of the essentially feminine character of the ending נָה; accordingly, while in the third person the other languages of the family prefix the simple sign of the Imperfect (י, Syriac ܝ), leaving both gender and number to be designated by the ending, the Hebrew prefixes the sign of feminine gender (ת), thus producing an accidental identity with the second person.

MASCULINE PLURAL IN ÔTH.—There are in Hebrew a few well known masculine plurals in ôth, such as אֲבוֹת. All Hebrew grammars which I have examined explain these forms as feminine plurals with masculine signification. It is true that in Hebrew these forms have the appearance of being feminines, but a comparison with the Assyrian will show at once that the ת of the feminine plural, and the ת of the masculine plural have a different origin. The former is from an original â t, as shown by the Assyrian feminine plural ending â ti, the latter from an original û t, as shown by the Assyrian masculine plural ending û ti. It is true that, owing to the identity of the resulting forms, some confusion has arisen in Hebrew use, but that does not affect the question of the origin of the masculine plural in ת. Another important case where an ô in Hebrew has resulted from an original u, is the Imperfect of the simple verb. The North Semitic used in the second syllable of the Imperfect either u, a, or i, as attested by the Assyrian; for example, iškun, iṣbat, iddin. These three vowels are represented in the Hebrew respectively by ô, a, ê; for example, יָאָחַז, יִרְבֵּק, יִקְטֹל. (It will be observed that in Hebrew the last form is used exclusively in verbs which have a weak initial consonant.) So also the ô in the Infinitive absolute of the Pʿél and Niphʿâl is the representative of an original u, while the ô in the Infinitive of Qāl represents an original â, as is shown by a comparison of the Hebrew נִקְטֹל, נִקְטָל, with the corresponding parts of the Assyrian verb šakān, namely, šakānu, naškunu, and šukkunu.

WAW CONSECUTIVE WITH THE IMPERFECT.—Turning to Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, I find three theories of the origin of וֹ presented: (a) That it is a contraction from הָוָה (for הָיָה) by loss of initial ה; so that וִיקְטֹל was originally הָוָה יִקְטֹל, then וְהִיקְטֹל, and then by assimilation וִיקְטֹל; (b) that it is the representative of an original וְהָיָה; so that וִיקְטֹל stands by apocopation for וְהָיָה יִקְטֹל; (c) that it is merely a strengthened form of the simple ו, the Dāghēš-forfe representing no assimilation whatsoever. While at that time adopting the first of these three explanations, Gesenius admits a growing inclination toward the last. The editors of the ninth edition of the *Handwörterbuch* and of the twenty-third edition of the *Grammatik* have adopted the last explanation. Ewald regarded the Pāthāḥ and Dāghēš-forfe as proof of the existence in the form of another element beside the conjunction ו, and thought that element to be the adverb וְ (archaic וְ, Assyrian adi). וִיקְטֹל would then be a contraction from וְ וִיקְטֹל. The analogy of the language appears to demand the explanation of Dāghēš-forfe as due

to the assimilation of some consonant. The article presents phenomena similar to those of Wāw consecutive. In the case of the article the Dāghēš forte is explained by a comparison with the more remotely connected South Semitic family, where we find in Arabic the article *al*. This has been aspirated in Hebrew, from the same tendency which led to an aspiration of the preformatives of Nīph'āl and Hīthpā'ēl, giving us the form הַל. The ל of this form has been treated as a weak letter, which it is also in Arabic, and hence assimilated, like ל in לקח. May we turn to the Arabic for the explanation of הַל also? We find in Arabic a conjunction *an* "that, so that; in order that, to," sign of direct quotation, equivalent, in its various uses, to *ut, quod, &c.* Has this conjunction, lost elsewhere in Hebrew, been possibly preserved in the Dāghēš-forte of the Wāw consecutive? In that case וַיִּקְטֹל would be a contraction from an earlier וַאֲנִי יִקְטֹל, the Dāghēš-forte representing, as so often, an assimilated *nun*. If this hypothesis were adopted, we should have to suppose that syntactically the ו represented an ellipsis to be supplied in thought before אַן. This would involve, apparently, the supposition that the original force of the Wāw consecutive was the expression of purpose or consequence, that of mere consecution being a later development. This would, moreover, involve the supposition that the use of the Wāw consecutive with the Perfect was the result of supposed analogy, after the origin and original force of the Wāw consecutive with the Perfect had been lost sight of. Whether this proposition be worthy of consideration or not, at least it seems to me that both the form and sense of הַל compel us to reject the theory that it is a mere variation of ו.

THE USE OF NUMBERS IN HEBREW.—In *HEBRAICA* for April, 1886, I called attention to some peculiarities in the use of numbers in Hebrew. Every one, conservative as well as radical, has doubtless been perplexed by the astonishingly large number of persons who are stated by Hebrew writers to have perished in certain battles and the like. In a few places, the editors of *Scriptures Hebrew and Christian* have offered an explanation of puzzling numbers of this sort, which may be of interest to those who have not seen it. 1 Kgs. xx. 30, we read:

וַיָּנֹסוּ הַנּוֹתָרִים אַפְקָה אֶל-הָעִיר וַתִּפֹּל הַחוֹמָה עַל-עֲשָׂרִים וּשְׁבַעָה אֶלֶף  
אִישׁ הַנּוֹתָרִים וּבֶן-חֲדָר נָם וַיָּבֹא אֶל-הָעִיר חֲדָר בְּחָדָר:

In its apparent sense, this sounds like a physical impossibility. The editors of *Scriptures Hebrew and Christian* have done it into English thus (p. 375): "And Ben-hadad, with twenty-seven thousand of them that were left, fled to Aphek, into the city; and the wall fell upon them. And Ben-hadad took refuge in an inner chamber in the hold." Similarly, in the same story, the number of Syrians said to have perished in the battle, verse 29, is referred back in sense to verse 27, as the total number of the Syrian army. A third instance of the same sort will be found on page 473 of the above-mentioned work. 2 Kgs. xix. 35, we are told:

וַיְהִי בַלִּילָה הַהוּא וַיֵּצֵא מֶלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר מִמַּחֲנֶה יְהוָה וַיָּה וַיָּה בְּמַחֲנֶה אֲשׁוּר מֶלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר  
וַחֲמִשָּׁה אֶלֶף וַיִּשְׁבְּמוּ בַבֶּקֶר וַהֲגָה כָּלֶם פְּגָרִים מֵתִים:

The number in this verse the editors have understood to refer to the total number of Sennacherib's army, and not literally to the number that perished.

A word or two will explain the principle on which the Hebrew idiom has been thus interpreted. We say in English that an army perished utterly, where we have no intention of saying that all the individuals composing it perished. It is, literally considered, a hyperbolical statement. We might say that so and so invaded such and such a country with an army of one hundred thousand men, and that he was defeated, and his whole army perished. No one would suppose the narrator to mean that one hundred thousand men were actually killed. And yet, by a very slight change of wording, which, if both parts of the former statement be literally understood, involves no real change of meaning, we might narrate the same thing thus: So and so invaded such and such a country, and was defeated, and one hundred thousand men perished. The editors of *Scriptures Hebrew and Christian* have assumed the existence of the latter idiom, and translated it into terms of the former.

JUDGES V. 30.—The Revised Version translates this verse :

Have they not found, have they not divided the spoil?  
A damsel, two damsels to every man;  
To Sisera a spoil of divers colours,  
A spoil of divers colours of embroidery,  
Of divers colours of embroidery on both sides, on the necks of the spoil?

*Scriptures Hebrew and Christian* translates it thus :

Do they not find and share the spoil?  
A vulture crest or two for the head of the warrior,  
A spoil of gay robes for Sisera,  
A spoil of gay embroidered robes,  
A gay embroidered robe or two for the neck of the spoiler?

הלא ימצאו יחלקו שלל  
רחם רחמתי לראש גבר  
שלל צבעים לסיסרא  
שלל צבעים רקמה  
צבע רקמתי לצוארי שלל

Examining this with a special view to its parallelism of external form, we find that line 2 corresponds to line 5, and 3 to 4, word for word. It is evident that the first two words of line 2 refer to some sort of booty. רָחַם, or רָחֵם, means "womb;" but in no place does any word from that root mean "woman." Here, however, tradition has assigned to it that sense, apparently on the ground that it meant some sort of booty, and that was the only sort which could in any way be brought into connection with the root sense "womb." But the word לְרֹאשׁ creates a new difficulty. Commentators have argued that it is used in the sense of "individual," as we sometimes use "head." To say the least, this would not be an apt occasion for the use of "head," meaning "individual." Moreover, in the parallel line we have "neck" used in its literal sense, which certainly creates a strong presumption that "head" is also used in its literal sense.

In view of the parallel line, and indeed of the contents of the entire stanza, which represents very graphically a woman's interest in dress, we expect to find in **רחם** some article of dress or adornment for the head. Now, we have in Hebrew a word **רחם**, a Semitic root, meaning "vulture." This has led Heilprin (*The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews*, I., 146) to suggest that the word meant vultures of precious metal, used as adornments of the helmets of men of station. At least I think it may be argued much more plausibly that it means vulture-crests, either as vultures of precious metal, or as much esteemed wings or plumes, like ostrich feathers among us, than that, following the old tradition, it means "woman."

A comparison of lines 2 and 5 also shows us that **עבר** and **שלל** are parallel. The editors of the ninth edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* regard **שלל** as a *nomen agentis*, in which sense it is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*. I think it quite possible that the pointing should be changed to **שָׁלַל**; but in any case the parallelism proves a *nomen agentis*.


There is a looseness of grammatical use, in line 5, in the case of the dual **רקמתים**. The proper translation is suggested by the parallel words in line 2.

THE MEANING OF **שדה**.—In Assyrian the same sign (𐎶) is used as a determinative for either land or mountain. In the former sense the word is not infrequent in Hebrew, so that we have **שדה מואב**, **שדה העמלקי**, **שדה ארם**, etc. In this sense it is a synonym of the more common **ארץ**; it is accordingly used in 1 Chron. xvi. 32 and Ezra xxvi. 6, 8, as a synonym for another sense of the word **ארץ**, namely, "dry land." But by far the most common use of the word in Hebrew is in the sense of "country," as over against "city," and, a secondary sense to this one, "fields," as over against vineyards and the like. The editors of the ninth edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* give, as the first meaning of the word, "flat country," in distinction from "mountain land." This is one of the cases in which the editors have abused their position as lexicographers. They have invented a meaning to accord with their theory of the etymology of the word. There is absolutely no support for their theory in Hebrew usage. They refer to only one passage, Hos. xii. 13, **וַיִּכְרַח יַעֲקֹב שָׂדֵה אֲרָם** And Jacob fled to the land of Aram. A glance at the names of countries used in the Old Testament with the prefix **שדה** will show any one that this statement of the *Handwörterbuch* fairly deserves to be characterized as ridiculous.

In Judges v. 18, we find the phrase **על מרומי שדה**. It is very evident that here not only does **שדה** not mean "level ground," in distinction from "hill country," but it actually means the latter. Another passage looking in the same direction is Judg. xx. 31; perhaps also Jer. xiii. 27; xvii. 3, and Ezek. xxi. 2. Num. xxiii. 14, also, becomes much more intelligible if we understand by **שדה** "hill country" or "mountains," instead of "field," thus, "And he took him to Watchers' Mountains, to the top of Pisgah." Probably, however, the most inter-



esting passage in this connection is 2 Sam. i. 21. Here we have 'שד' used as parallel to and synonymous with 'הר'. Wellhausen (Sam. 152) has pointed out that the true LXX. text here read *ἐρη θανάτου*, and Thenius is of the same opinion. Both, moreover, recognize a corrupt text, and both object to the form 'שד', which is found nowhere else. Adopting, not the LXX. text, but a suggestion from it, I would propose to amend וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמוֹת into וּשְׂדוֹת רְמוֹת, and translate "lofty mountains" (cf. Judg. v. 18).

The sign  in Assyrian, when referring to a country, is read *ma tu*, when referring to mountains *ša du*. The words *ša du* and שְׂדֵה are manifestly the same. But while שְׂדֵה is used in Hebrew as the determinative of country, and the meaning "mountain" has almost vanished, the word *ša du* in Assyrian means only "mountain," while another word has taken its place in the meaning "country." But the use of the same determinative for both words shows us that *ša du* in the earliest Assyrian times carried the meaning "land," as well as "mountain." And I believe that the passages which I have adduced above show us that in Hebrew the word originally meant "mountain" as well as "land."

## ➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

Some Textual Remarks on the Old Testament.—Josh. x. 21, **לֹא-חָרַץ לְבָנִי**: the Lamedh in **יִשְׂרָאֵל** was doubled and the second Lamedh was pushed forward to the following **אִישׁ**.

Josh. x. 24, **הִהְלֹכוּ אִתּוֹ**: the Aleph in **הִהְלֹכוּ** was carried over from the following **אִתּוֹ** to the preceding word (**הִהְלֹכוּ**) which should be written without an Aleph.

Josh. xv. 12, **וְגִבּוֹל יָם הַיָּמָה הַגִּדּוֹל**: the He in **הַיָּמָה** has arisen from the He of the following **הַגִּדּוֹל**.

Josh. xxii. 7, **עַם-אֲחֵיהֶם מֵעֵבֶר הִיָּדָן**: in my opinion the Mem in **מֵעֵבֶר** is quite superfluous and has arisen from the **מ** of **אֲחֵיהֶם**.

Judg. i. 14, **לְשֹׂאֵל מֵאֵת-אֲבִיהָ הַשָּׂדָה**: the text of Josh. xv. 18 is correct. The **ה** before **אֲבִיהָ** has been doubled, as Studer has already correctly conjectured.

Judg. vii. 8, **וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת-צֹרֶה הָעָם**: one should perhaps read **צָר** and regard the **ה** as having arisen from the initial letter of **הָעָם**.

Judg. xx. 38, **לְהַעֲלוֹת הָרֹב לְהַעֲלוֹתָם מִשְׂאֵת הָעֵשֶׂן**: read with Studer **לְהַעֲלוֹת מִשְׂאֵת** without Mem. The Mem is superfluous and has arisen from the **מ** of **מִשְׂאֵת**.

1 Sam. ii. 27, **כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הַנִּגְלָה נִגְלִיתִי**: the first He of **הַנִּגְלָה** probably arises from the He of **יְהוָה**.

2 Sam. vii. 23, **בְּעֶמֶךָ כִּי־יִשְׂרָאֵל**: the final Kaph of **בְּעֶמֶךָ** went over to the following word.

2 Kgs. xi. 1, **וַעֲתִלְיָה אִם אֲחֻיָּהּ וְרֵאתָה**: one should read **רֵאתָה** only, without Waw, as the final Waw of **אֲחֻיָּהּ** was doubled.

Jer. xxxi. 39, **קוֹה הַמֶּדָּה**: read **קוֹ** without He.

Ezek. xxi. 31, **הַשֹּׁפֵל הִגְבָּה**: it should read **הַשֹּׁפֵל הִגְבָּה** as the He arose from the doubling of the first letter of **הִגְבָּה**. Pirchon, in his grammar, notes that the He in **הַשֹּׁפֵל** is superfluous, but does not give any reason for it.

Ezek. xlvi. 10, **יֵצֵאוּ**: read with Smend **יֵצֵא**, the Waw arising from the first word in verse 11, **וּבַחֲנִים**.

Hab. i. 16, 17, **מֵאֲכָלוֹ בִּרְאָה הָעֵל**: it should read **עַל** without He. The He appears to have arisen through the doubling of the last letter of **בִּרְאָה**.

Ps. lxix. 20, **נִגְדָה כָּל-צוּרֵי נֹגֵד**: the Kaph in **נֹגֵד** has arisen through the doubling of the first letter of **כָּל**. Read **נֹגֵד כָּל-צוּרֵי**.

Prov. xxx. 1, **אֲתִי אֶל לֵאֲתִי אֶל לֵאֲתִי אֶל**: is it perhaps to be read **אֲתִי אֶל** "God is with me and I shall triumph"? **וְאֹכֵל**

Job xxvii. 13, **זֶה חֶלֶק אָדָם רָשָׁע עִם-אֵל**: "This is the reward or portion of the bad *with* God" is entirely unintelligible. As xx. 29 proves, the **ע** of

עם arises from the ע in רשע and the ם is to be connected with אל, "This is the reward or portion of the bad from God." The sentence is thus rendered intelligible, and corresponds to the parallel וַיִּנְחַל עַרְצִים מִשְׁדֵּי יִקְחוּ.

Job xxxiii. 24, 25, רִטְפֵּשׁ כֶּפֶר : מִצָּאתִי כֶּפֶר : the ר in רִטְפֵּשׁ is superfluous. It should be טַפֵּשׁ (it is fat).

Dan. xi. 4, בִּי תִנְחַשׁ מַלְכוּתוֹ וְלֵאחֲרָיו : it should be לֵאחֲרָיו without Waw. The Waw is doubled from מַלְכוּתוֹ.

1 Chron. xv. 16, לְהָרִים בְּקוֹל לְשִׁמְחָה : cancel the ל in לְשִׁמְחָה. It has arisen through the doubling of ל of בְּקוֹל.

Neh. v. 2, וְיֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר אָמְרִים בְּגִינוּ וּבְנֹתֵינוּ אֲנַחְנוּ רַבִּים וְנִקְחָה דָּגָן : as long as we stand by the traditional reading, this verse remains obscure. It can, however, be understood at once if we accept that רַבִּים is a miswriting for עַרְבִּים, "We pledge our sons and daughters and buy corn." The conjecture is confirmed by verse 3.

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*Translated from Stade's Zeitschrift f. Alttest. Wissenschaft by Robert F. Harper.*

**An Old English Semitic Series.**—It is commonly stated, or left to be implied, by the Syriac scholars and bibliographers, that no Syriac grammar was printed in England during the eighteenth century. That, however, is a mistake. A series of grammars was prepared and printed at London, whose scope may be learned from the title to the Hebrew grammar of the series, which runs as follows :

"THE | *Compleat Linguist.* | OR, AN UNIVERSAL | GRAMMAR | Of all the Considerable | Tongues in Being. | In a Shorter, Clearer, and more Instructive | METHOD than is extant. | ————— | *Collected from the most Approv'd Hands.* | ————— | To be publish'd Monthly, One Distinct GRAMMAR each Month, till the whole is perfected : | With a PREFACE to every Grammar, relating | to each Tongue. | ————— | NUMB. VI. | For the Months *March, April, & May*, 1720. | BEING | A GRAMMAR of the *Hebrew Tongue.* | By JOHN HENLEY, M.A. | ————— | LONDON : | Printed for J. ROBERTS, in *Warwick-Lane*; and | J. PEMBERTON, at the *Buck and Sun* against | *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleetstreet*. 1720. Price 2 s."

All of the series which I own are bound in one volume, and are the following : Hebrew grammar (No. VI.), Chaldee grammar (No. VII.), Arabic grammar (No. VIII.), and the Syriac grammar (No. IX.). The title of the Syriac grammar, *mutatis mutandis*, is precisely like that of the Hebrew grammar, except that it omits the names of the months (and their year) for which the number was issued, and bears the date 1723 (at the place where the Hebrew grammar has the date 1720 for the second time). The size is a small octavo. Contents : False title, true title, dedication "To the most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury," eight pages, signed by John Henley ; Preface, pp. xviii ; grammar proper, pp. 77. It is a very respectable work, and shows a pretty good knowledge of the work that had been done in the field of Syriac study and printing in Europe. Of course the author was not in advance of his times, and the book has a number of misprints. The Syriac is stated to have been "the vernacular Tongue of our Blessed Saviour;" the defects of previous grammars (except that of Dr. Beverege)

are attributed to their authors' lack of opportunity to study the Old Testament; Hebrew and Chaldee are laid down as prerequisites to a study of Syriac; and so on. The Syriac translation of the Old Testament "*is thought more Antient than all that have been made since the Time of Christ; and to have been written in the Time of Jude the Apostle, when the Syriac Version of the New Testament was penn'd.*" The author's comments on the New Testament are worth quoting, since they show his clear bibliographical knowledge. "The latter" [the N. T.], says he, "*is extremely Pure and Elegant, and was composed either by the Apostles, or Apostolical Men. In the truest Edition of it, that of Widmanstadius, are wanting some parts of the New Testament, which were not then receiv'd by the general Consent of the whole Church; the 2d Epist. of Peter; 2d and 3d of John; that of Jude, the Apocalypse, and the Accusation of the Adulteress; which is also wanting in Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Nonnus. But doubtless, these were turned into Syriac, when receiv'd into the Canon. Lud. de Dieu put out the Apocalypse, Dr. Pocock, the Epistles, and all together were in the Polyglott.*"

The lexicons recommended are those of "Trostitius, Buxtorf, Junior, or Ferrarius (the last of them)." It is also stated that "Dr. Beverege, who wrote his Grammar of this Tongue, while very Yong, promis'd a fuller Lexicon of it, than any extant. With regard to the other matters, such as Syriac idioms and words in the New Testament, the printing of the Syriac Old and New Testament, the grammars, and so on, the preface is worth reading to-day, notwithstanding some fossil errors. We need not go into the merits of the grammar, but the titles of its chapters will be interesting: "Chap. I. Alphabet, Consonants, Vowels, Diphthongs, Sheva, Dagesh, Raphe, Mappic, and the diacritical Points." "Chap. II. Noun, Declension, Pronoun." "Chap. III. Verbs Perfect or Regular" (the Paradigm has "PEAL," "Benoni," "Pehil," "Infin.," "Imper." [s. c. -ative]; "ETHPEEL" (with same moods); "PAEL" (with same moods); "ETHPAAL" (with same moods); "APHEL" (with same moods); and "ETHTAPHAL" (with same moods)). "Chap. IV. Verbs Defective and Irregular, Adverb, Conjunction, Preposition, Interjection." "Chap. V. Syntax, in all its Parts, Figures, Accents." Under accents is one paragraph about "*Syriac Verse*," which, as it states, "does not depend upon Quantity, but the Number of Syllables and Feet; Kinds of Verse are two; taking their Names from the Authors of them, *Aphraem* and *Jacob*."

It need scarcely be said that this grammar, in giving the names of the vowels, not only gives the now ordinary ones, but also those in which the modern Syrians, especially the Maronites, so much delight, viz., "*Abrohom, Eshajo, Ischok, Odom, Urijo*" (i. e., Abraham, Isaiah, Isaac, Adam, Uriah).

Long as this bibliographical note is, the reader will doubtless pardon an added though digressive remark. A Peshitto New Testament has lately come into my hands which is not in Nestle's bibliography. It was printed at London by Macintosh, in 1836. Its text I have had no opportunity to examine. Also, on the occasion of a correction of the plates of the New York edition of the American Bible Society's Ancient Syriac New Testament and Psalms, the Committee on Versions have permitted the Antilegomena Epistles to be corrected from the Williams Manuscript in cases of *obvious error*. The gain is very great, and one to be thankful for.

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## ➤BOOK ❖ NOTICES.❖◀

### JEWISH LITERATURE.\*

A recent Italian dictionary of Hebrew abbreviations bears the title "This Great and Wide Sea." If any work deserves this title it is rather one on the literature of the Jews. For the sons of Israel have had their part (usually an honorable one) in almost every great literary period. From Josephus down to Mendelssohn they have been influenced by the intellectual activity of their Gentile neighbors, and shared in it. In a sense the literature of the Jews is, therefore, a world literature, just as the history of the Jews is the world's history.

This fact renders the subject an extremely difficult one to treat. If by Jewish literature one means the literature produced by Jews (as our author does) it is first a literature in a dozen different languages. No one can have an adequate knowledge of such a literature. All he can do is to summarize or digest the knowledge furnished by others. We cannot, from the nature of the case, make the same demands upon the author of such a work that we should make upon the historian of English or of German literature—that he should be familiar with his subject by personal study, and should give us the results of his own critical investigations.

That such a work as we have in hand may have real scientific value, there is, however, one thing we may rightfully demand. This is: that the author should name for us the secondary sources from which he draws, so that for a particular period or even a particular statement we may go to some one who will be responsible, and whose line of study we can follow out for ourselves. This our author has not done. He is undoubtedly familiar with the literature of the subject. He often quotes at length from the authors on whom he depends. But we are never referred to the book from which the quotation is taken, and never informed whom we may consider as authority for any statement—even one which we might be inclined to call in question. The extensive *Literaturnachweise* (23 pages) at the end of the work, while valuable, do not answer the purpose we have in view.

That a history of Jewish literature should be one volume of a comprehensive "History of the Literature of European (!) Peoples" is a thought worthy of an Irishman rather than a German or a Jew. This arrangement—indicated on the title-page of our work—is probably to be laid at the door of the publisher and not of the author. But the author must bear the blame of more serious faults. We will not emphasize the matter of style; for here tastes differ, and what seems to us bombastic may meet the popular demand. Clearness and definiteness, however, we have a right to ask—and we ask too often in vain. What shall we make of the following paragraph?

"Is now this 'Man Moses' the author of the Pentateuch by divine inspiration? The unbiased judgment will probably answer—Yes. Biblical criticism opposes its decided—No. According to the Christological conception, the 'Law' was the writing of Moses. Paul and James, John and Jesus himself speak often

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\* GESCHICHTE DER JUEDISCHEN LITERATUR. Von Gustav Karppeles. Berlin, 1886. viii and 1172 pages octavo.

of this Law, and therefore the church has consistently made the authenticity of the Tora and its Mosaic authorship one of her articles of faith. . . . Seven centuries before the origin of Christianity there was no doubt that Moses received the Tora by divine inspiration."

What is the *christologische Auffassung* of the Pentateuch question? Where has the church made the Mosaic authorship an article of faith? How shall we know that it was already such seven centuries before Christ? What does the author himself think of the critical argument? To these questions we receive no answer. Very often we are left in doubt as to how much of the assertion of tradition which the author quotes he himself believes. Such inaccuracies, also, as are noted above, are frequent. When we receive the legendary account of the making of the Septuagint translation we get the impression that the whole Old Testament canon is the subject. We learn that twelve men from each tribe are sent by the high-priest to Egypt, making 72 in all (!). The author is certain that this version "attracted the attention of curious Greeks." Whereas it seems tolerably certain that its language would be incomprehensible to any one who had not been trained in the jargon of Greek-speaking Jews. The author, indeed, confesses as much a little later on—"Whether the version was known also to the heathen is not yet established." (Cf. pp. 217 and 220.) What shall we make of this statement?—"Long before the Exile, Jews were living in Spain, and the prophet Jonah (according to the legend) fled to this land from the wrath of the Lord." The author, while certain that the story of Jonah is legendary, yet makes a positive statement concerning the Jews in Spain for which there is not even legendary authority. "The present Hebrew alphabet was introduced by Ezra"—this assertion is made without any qualification. "The Book of Samuel was *originally* two books and *redivided* in the sixteenth century" (p. 45)—no authority is given. "That the Book of Daniel does not belong to the prophetic writings is shown by its place among the Hagiographa of the Hebrew Bible, while in the Christian canon it follows Ezechiel *for dogmatic reasons*" (p. 126). "The historian Josephus received this whole library *from the Temple* as a present, and it consisted, as can be proved, *of exactly the books* which we now know as constituting the Biblical writings" (p. 133). The true reason for the antipathy of the Greeks for the Jews was this, "that they feared lest they be surpassed intellectually by these foreigners" (p. 211). "The Jewish literature migrated with the Jewish race over the earth, and so became in truth *a world literature*." Except the Bible, the Jewish literature is not in truth a world literature, and the cosmopolitan importance of the Old Testament is not due, in any sense, to the migrations of the Jews.

But enough. We have indicated distinctly by our italics the objections that every reflecting reader must find to many statements of the author. They suffice to show the caution with which the book must be read. Yet we have read it with interest. It treats of many things which are obscure and little known. It treats them generally in an interesting manner. In spite of its many inaccuracies of detail, it probably gives a good general picture of the literature of Judaism. For this, many passages would, however, better be pruned away. That the author's point of view is that of the Jew, according to which the Talmud is "born of the spirit of prophecy," cannot, of course, be urged against him, however incomprehensible we may find it.

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## FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH'S PROLEGOMENA.\*

These prolegomena are intended to lay the groundwork for the author's new Hebrew and Aramaic dictionary, which is now, we believe, almost ready for publication. In chapter one, he maintains that the dictionary to the Aramaic portions of the Bible shall be kept separate from that for the Hebrew; because by the present method of mingling the vocabularies, the beginner in Hebrew is confused, and because the keeping of the Aramaic glossary by itself will afford a quick and useful review of its contents, while at the same time it will enable us to make of it a useful preparation for the study of the other Aramaic dialects. The author maintains, also, that the proper names be put in a section by themselves. He will thus shorten as much as possible the dictionary proper, while he will escape the difficulty of attempting to classify them according to roots. In the third place, it is insisted upon that the true principle of arranging the words in the Hebrew dictionary, as the analogy of the dictionaries of the other Semitic languages suggests and favors, is the arrangement according to roots. The present method is useless for the teacher. It is hurtful to the student, since it is liable to cause him to forget the principles of etymology already learned, and necessitates the burdening of his memory with a multitude of derivatives where a few root-meanings might suffice. Moreover, this arrangement has two great practical advantages. It takes up less room, and the space saved is to be filled with references to all the places in the Old Testament where the word occurs, thus rendering a concordance superfluous. Secondly, each root, or word without root, is to be numbered, and the indexes will be made with reference to these numbers and not to the pages on which the words occur, thus rendering unnecessary a completely new index with each revised edition. In order to cut out extraneous matter from the vocabulary proper, all notes, such as those containing translations, comments and conjectures from the Septuagint and other sources, are to be placed at the foot of the page.

The other five chapters are taken up with the subject-matter. In chapter two, he treats of the relation in which Hebrew stands to the other Semitic languages, prefacing his remarks with the statements that each of them has some words peculiar to itself, that in many cases we have two roots with the same radicals, but of entirely different meaning, that there is no historical tradition of the meaning of the Hebrew words, nor any substantial dependence to be placed upon the old versions and commentaries, and that hence our main reliance for the derivation and meaning of the Hebrew words must after all be upon the Old Testament text itself. That this source of information has not been exhausted, he attempts to prove from **רָאָם** and **נָהַל**, of which the meaning "wild ox" for the former and "to rest" for the latter he takes to be clear from the usage of the Old Testament writers, and to have been misunderstood on account of the injurious influence of the Arabic. He illustrates further the danger of depending too closely on the Arabic by such examples as **נָלַחַשׁ**, of the Song of Songs IV. 1; VI. 5, which some have interpreted by means of the Arabic **جلس** "to sit," but which should rather have the sense of "to move downwards," as it is in modern Hebrew.

\* PROLEGOMENA EINES NEUEN HEBRAEISCH-ARAMEISCHEN WOERTERBUCHS ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT. Von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, Prof. Ord. Hon. für Assyriologie und semitische Sprachen an der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1886.

In articles 9 and 10 he attempts to show the insufficiency of the Arabic for the explanation of the Hebrew by giving lists of important Hebrew roots, which either have a different meaning in the Arabic, or else are not found in it at all. We fail to see that he has proven in article 10, that Aramaic is superior to the Arabic as a help for the elucidation of the Hebrew. He shows that this is true in the case of the fifty words which he mentions, of most of which the very roots are absent from the Arabic, (notice, however **طاب**, **عود**, **شرش**, **أبيل**, **أهّل** and others); but he does not show that there are not fifty words also which have analogies in the Arabic, but not in the Aramaic. Nor does he show that there are more words in the Hebrew which can be explained by the Aramaic than by the Arabic.\*

Too little attention, doubtless, has been paid to the Aramaic; but too careless, or unscientific, rather than too much reliance has been placed upon the Arabic. Bearing well in mind the consonantal changes and the root theory of chapters five and six, little harm can come from the use of any of the other Semitic languages for the illustration of the Hebrew.

Article 12 will be to most readers the most interesting in this chapter, because it shows the close relationship of the Hebrew to the Assyrian, and gives a list of words and a number of sentences and grammatical forms by way of illustration. Chapter three exemplifies and amplifies the importance of the Assyrian. It is, certainly, the most noteworthy contribution which Assyriology has yet furnished to biblical science. Almost four hundred roots, or words, are mentioned whose meaning or derivation has been confirmed or discovered by means of the Assyrian. However much doubt there may be about a few of these, the proof for most of them seems to be convincing. It is especially gratifying to see the number of *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* that have been explained, such as **תִּמְחֵץ** Ps. LXVIII. 24, which is compared to the Assyrian *ma h â s u* "to wash," "to pour over;" **נָחַשֶׁת** Ezek. XVI. 36, shown by the Assyrian to be a synonym of **עָרֶוּהָ**; **אֲבָחָה** Ezek. XXI. 20, which is the Assyrian *ab û h u* "torture." Words hitherto of doubtful meaning have been satisfactorily explained: e. g., **תִּשֵׁשׁ** "a kind of goat;" **יִנְשֹׁף** "an owl;" **חֶסֶף** (1) "work," (2) "pottery;" **לִבָּה** Exod. III. 2, "flicker, flame;" **פָּרַר**, **צָאן**, **שָׂדֶה**, **שָׂר**, **מַחִיר**, **לִבְנָה** Obad. 7, "net." The root meaning of **שָׂר**, **שָׂדֶה**, **שָׂר**, and others, has most probably been conclusively settled; while almost convincing arguments are given in favor of the author's derivation of **לִבְנָה**, **חָתָן**, **לִבְנָה**, **אֵב** and **אֵם**. In general, we think, if the facts of the Assyrian are found upon review to be as stated in this chapter, that the positions taken will be mainly tenable and that the book will be an epoch-making one in Hebrew lexicography and for biblical exegesis. It will revolutionize lexicography by introducing a new element on a par with the Aramaic and the Arabic. It will work many changes of front in certain schools of exegesis; for Assyriology has shown not merely that most of the words hitherto thought to be of Persian origin are of true Semitic stock or usage (compare **פָּחָה**, **סִנֵּן**); but in almost every instance, it confirms the

\* There are 87 roots in Hebrew beginning with **צ**. Of these, 47 occur in Arabic and 46 in the Aramaic dialects with the same or a similar meaning. 15 do not occur in Arabic and 24 cannot be found in any of the Aramaic dictionaries in my possession. In this calculation there may be slight errors; but the strictest rules of consonantal changes have been followed.



Massoretic text as against the LXX. (*Proleg.* pp. 69, 71, 77, 80 et al.), and in many cases it overthrows, while in others it establishes, the emendations proposed by our modern scholars (pp. 70, 74, 76, 89 et al.).

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### SMEND AND SOCIN: DIE INSCRIPT DES KÖNIGS MESA VON MOAB.

It is now more than fifteen years since the German missionary, C. F. Klein, upon his return to Jerusalem from a journey in the district of ancient Moab, informed Dr. Petermann, then acting German Consul at Jerusalem, of a curious monument lying among the ruins of ancient Dibôn, and showed him a few specimens of the writing on the stone. Dr. Petermann at once recognized the characters to be Phœnician, and soon satisfied himself of the value of the stone. The romantic story of the stone, with the rather tragic end, how Prof. Petermann received orders from the Prussian government to purchase, how, meanwhile, the Frenchman M. Clermont-Ganneau also learned of the existence of the stone and endeavored to secure it, and how the rivalry between the two governments finally ended in the destruction of the stone by the native Arabic tribes—all this has frequently been told and is well known to scholars.

The literature on the Moabite stone has assumed gigantic proportions. We are certainly not going too far if we estimate the number of books, pamphlets, articles and letters on the subject which have appeared in England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, Russia, Hungary, and America, at five hundred. It might be concluded from this that another edition of the monument is superfluous. This, however, is far from being the case. Notwithstanding the large number of eminent scholars who have occupied themselves with the stone, there is still something, if not much, to be done. The unfortunate state of some of the fragments and the numerous gaps have caused difficulties which could only have been expected to yield gradually to the combined efforts of many minds. This hope is being fulfilled, and the new edition of Professors Smend and Socin marks a further and decided advance upon previous publications.

The number of new readings for doubtful places are numerous and in the main correct. The most important one is that proposed for king Meša's father. Instead of **כמשנר**, Smend and Socin show, beyond a doubt, that it is to be read **כמשלך**—a correction which is as striking as it is happy. Dr. Neubauer, in a recent number of the *Athenæum*, takes exception to the reading **כמשע משע** (l. 3) as not being idiomatic Hebrew. It strikes us as again being exceedingly happy; and if the genius of the Moabites resembled that of the Hebrews in any way, this propensity to play upon proper names, so common in the Old Testament, is certainly exceedingly characteristic. The "pun," it may be added, is continued on through the phrase **כִּי הִשְׁעֵנִי**. In the fifteenth chapter of Isaiah, with the heading "The Doom of Moab"—which reads almost like a reply to king Meša's vainglorious words—we have instances of two such plays upon proper names. The word **יַעְרֹר** is very clearly an allusion to the city of Aroer, and the other, **דִּימֹן** (verse 9), which is Dibôn, and where the **ב** is intentionally changed to **מ**—a very slight one, as the Assyrian, where a similar interchange is constant, shows—in order to play upon the following **דִּם**. The whole verse, as has already been

recognized, refers to the miracle of the "waters red as blood" related in 2 Kgs. **III**. 22. Possibly, also, there is in **קררה** (verse 2) a play upon the place **K R H H** of the Moabite stone. Smend and Socin take the final **Waw** in **ויענו** as radical, and not, as has sometimes been done, as the suffix of the third person masculine. This will meet, I think, with the approval of the best authorities. Besides the fact that the suffix of the third person masculine is always **ה** on the stone, the construction with the suffix followed by the object to which the suffix refers is decidedly Aramaic idiom, and in the whole inscription there is scarcely a trace of a leaning in this direction, unless it be the plural in **ין**, for which, however, another explanation may be offered.

The reading **כרבר** is certainly correct, as Dr. Neubauer in the above-quoted notice (*Athenæum*, 3072) justly points out. It seems to me that there is scarcely room for the two letters **בר** which Smend and Socin see proper to add. We might read **כור**, which would have the advantage at least of being idiomatic usage, but even the preceding word **אמר** is by no means clear, so that it is best to hazard no further conjectures. The reading **חצי** in line 8, though extremely ingenious, appears to me very doubtful indeed. The line would read, "And he (Omri) dwelt therein during his days and half the days of his son" apart from the fact that the chronological difficulties would only be enhanced thereby, it certainly must strike one as strange to find such an expression as "half the days of his son" in an inscription of this nature. It is entirely too accurate; we would in this case be obliged to suppose that Meša knew exactly how long Ahab reigned; that he outlived him and only erected this monument after Ahab's death. Furthermore, Ahab having reigned twenty-two years, the rebellion must have broken out in the twelfth year of his reign, and we must then further suppose that the war lasted at least until Ahab's death, or that Meša postponed the erection of this monument for a long period. Neither supposition is plausible. Besides, it is highly improbable that Meša should have rebelled *during* the reign of the powerful Ahab. It is far more likely, and in accordance with what we know of the times, that a change of rulers should have been seized upon as a favorable moment for revolt; and if we bear in mind the weak character of Ahab's immediate successor, and his long illness, there is every reason to place the beginning of the rebellion at the death of Ahab, in accordance with the Jewish tradition (2 Kgs. **I**. 1 and **III**. 5). The question, of course, would still remain whether the victories celebrated by Meša occurred previous to the defeat of the Moabites through the combined forces of Judah, Israel and Edom, or whether—which seems to me far more plausible—the war finally turned in favor of Moab, and that our inscription refers to the defeat of the Israelites so obscurely alluded to in 2 Kgs. **III**. 26 and 27. At any rate, it is clear that these two verses have no connection with what precedes, and have reference to a different and, as I believe, later stage of the rebellion.

I would also call attention to the fact, which Smend and Socin seem to have overlooked, that the **צ** and part of the **י** stand on an isolated fragment, and that possibly the fragment is entirely misplaced. There is certainly room for it elsewhere. At any rate, it appears to me that everything points to a reading **כל ימי בנה** "all the days of his son." Forty years would then be a round number, as it so frequently is in the traditional Jewish chronology. The **ויעל ארה** which Dr. Neubauer takes for a locality, I am inclined to consider a verb, the **ה** at the end representing the suffix. If the close of line 31 is correct, it is easy to supply at

least the sense of the beginning of line 32, where there must have been a phrase similar to the **אָענוּ אַתּ מאַב** of line 6. In the same way it is quite safe to fill up the gap at the beginning of line 3 with **חִם בְּחֹרֶנִּי** or possibly **בְּחֹרֶנִּי**. The most obscure passages are now the close of 27, and beginning of 28 and 31.

It but remains for me to call attention to the splendidly executed copy of the inscription which accompanies the work. It is in the full sense a masterpiece for neatness and accuracy. With it and the copious notes and references given by the German professors, every one is placed in a position to study this important monument of antiquity for himself. The work cannot be too highly recommended. We should like to see an edition of the Siloam inscription of equal excellency.

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# ❖ HEBREW ❖

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## ON THE SYNONYMS עֵרָה AND קָהָל.

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A study of these words is important not merely because of their frequent occurrence and intimate relationship, but because of their reflecting the evolution of political and ecclesiastical institutions. This interest is greatly increased by the unusual difficulty experienced in drawing a well-defined line of demarcation between them. Both seem to designate popular gatherings, especially of the people of Israel. Like many other closely related synonyms, they are sometimes used in this general sense without any discernible effort on the part of the writer to discriminate between them.

The root עֵרָ (to make fast, fix, or determine), which gives מוֹעֵד (a fixed time or place, and hence a fixed or predetermined gathering), gives also עֵרָה, which is often taken to be an assembly or congregation gathered at some fixed time or place. But this sense, so fundamental and conspicuous in מוֹעֵד is far less apparent in עֵרָה. It may be said, indeed, that no well-defined instance of עֵרָה being used in this sense of מוֹעֵד exists in Hebrew literature. In קָהָל the radical meaning passes from the participial form of the verb קָהָל (a calling together or summoning), to a designation of the assembly so called or summoned. Etymologically it means the *convocata societas*, and corresponds to the *ἐκκλησία* called together by the Greek magistrates. Still a קָהָל is not always a convocation; it may designate a spontaneous and unpremeditated gathering, as in Num. xx. 4, 6; Ezra ii. 64. An עֵרָה, on the contrary, seems in many places to partake of the nature of a קָהָל in that it is formally summoned to the place of meeting, Ex. xxxv. 20; Lev. viii. 3; Num. i. 18, etc. The etymology, therefore, cannot be relied on in determining their meanings.

Nor is the result more satisfactory if we turn to writers who have attempted to state the difference between them. Perfect agreement is found among those only who, like Bevan in Smith's *Bib. Dict.*, s. v. "Congregation," dismiss them as practically equivalent. Other writers reach the most varied and contradictory

conclusions. Prof. Plumptre in the same work, s. v. "Synagogue," following the etymology, makes the predominant idea in **ערה** that of an appointed meeting, and in **קהל** of a meeting called together. Umbreit understands a **קהל** to be any general assembly, and an **ערה**, more precisely, a representative assembly, "*senatus, Rath der Aeltesten*" (*Die Sprueche Salomo's*, 5: 14). Delitzsch on the same passage controverts the opinion that these words point respectively to the civil and ecclesiastical aspects of the Hebrew commonwealth, but is inclined to think that **קהל** denotes the "Gesammtekklesia," and **ערה** the "Gesammtheit ihrer Rep-räsentanten." Köstlin, treating of the Church in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.*, holds that an **ערה** is any general assembly, and that a **קהל** is a gathering for divine worship. Girdlestone, *Hebr. Synonyms*, p. 367, admits that it is not easy to distinguish between **קהל** and **ערה**, but thinks that "there is some reason for taking the first as generally referring to the *representative* gathering, while the second often signifies an informal massing of the people." Bedarshi, a much-prized Jewish writer on Hebrew synonyms, whose work dates from the thirteenth century, following the Talmud, decides empirically that a ruling **ערה**, i. e., a quorum for the transaction of business, must consist of not less than ten representative men; a **קהל**, on the contrary, is a promiscuous assembly. These are only a few of the definitions that might be cited.

We naturally turn to the Septuagint Version for light, but the help it offers is not so satisfactory as it might have been if the LXX. had observed some degree of uniformity in their renderings. In respect to **ערה**, however, there is little cause for complaint. In its 148 occurrences it has been translated by *συναγωγή* 130 times; in the remaining 18 it has been omitted, as pleonastic, eight times, Num. i. 58; xxvii. 20; xxxi. 12; Josh. ix. 18; xxii. 12, 18; 1 Kgs. viii. 5; in three instances, Job xvi. 7; Jer. vi. 8; Hos. vii. 12, the translators seem to have used a Hebrew text in which the word **ערה** was replaced by some other expression; twice, Num. iii. 7; xxxii. 4, **ערה** is rendered by *υιοὶ Ἰσραὴλ*; other renderings are *σκηνή*, Num. xvi. 9; *ἐπιστάσεις*, verse 40; *παρεμβολή*, verse 46; *οἶκους*, Job xvi. 34; *βουλή*, Ps. i. 5, and *μαρτύρια*, Jer. xxx. 20. The last six, then, are the only real departures from practical uniformity, and these variations are easily justified. The LXX. therefore, treated **ערה** and *συναγωγή* as substantially equivalent. The same consistency does not appear in their renderings of **קהל**; for, while *ἐκκλησία* prevails, occurring in 76 out of 123 instances, *συναγωγή* is also given in not less than 37 places; *δῆλος* occurs six times, *συνέδριον* twice, and *σύστασις* and *λαός* once each.<sup>1</sup> Whatever conclusion might be drawn from the almost uniform translation of **ערה** by *συναγωγή* is vitiated by the confusion in the renderings of **קהל**.

The English versions attempt to be consistent in respect to **ערה**, rendering

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of these renderings as they occur in the various books, see Cremer, *Bibl. Theol. Woerterbuch*, s. v. *ἐκκλησία*.

it "congregation" when it refers to theocratic Israel, and "company" when it refers to Korah's conspiracy. The revised version corrects the few exceptions of the common version in all places but two, Ps. xxii. 16; Prov. v. 14, where both have "assembly." The renderings of קָהָל, on the contrary, are strangely arbitrary. Aside from the sixteen places where it is translated "company," the other renderings are about equally distributed between "assembly" and "congregation." With a single exception, Num. xxii. 4, the Revisers give "assembly" throughout Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Job, Joel, Micah; "congregation" throughout Kings, Chronicles, Ezra; "assembly" and "congregation" in Nehemiah, Psalms, Proverbs; "assembly" and "company" in Genesis, Jeremiah, Ezekiel. One might suspect that this confusion originated in the Revisers permitting themselves to be guided by the LXX. Not at all. The best scholarship of the nineteenth century is able to be independent in its arbitrariness.

What, then, is the distinction between these terms? Even a brief examination dispels the impression that they are used indiscriminately. Nor is it likely that the terms employed in such intimate relation to every movement of Israel's national life denote only the community in general, or a mere fortuitous concourse of its individual units. The more closely they are scrutinized, the more clearly it is seen that Hebrew writers not only distinguished between them, but that one at least, if not both, was used almost invariably with a unique and technical import. This is true of עֵרָה. Is there no passage where it defines itself, or is defined for us? Such a definition occurs in Num. i. 2, "Take ye the sum of all the עֵרָה of the children of Israel, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, every male by their polls: from twenty years old and upward, all that are able to go forth to war in Israel." No incidental definition could be more explicit. Moses and Aaron are commanded to take the census of the עֵרָה. They find (verse 46) that the עֵרָה of Israel numbers 603,550 males of twenty years and upward. Another census of the עֵרָה is taken at the close of the wanderings in the wilderness (Num. xxvi. 2), when it was found to consist of 601,730 men of twenty years old and upward. At the construction of the tabernacle a poll-tax of half a shekel was collected from "them that were numbered of the עֵרָה," "from twenty years old and upward, for 603,550 men," Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26. When the spies brought up an evil report, and all the עֵרָה in a riotous outbreak would have stoned Joshua and Caleb, the Lord said "How long shall I bear with this evil עֵרָה, which murmur against me? . . . As I live, saith the Lord, surely as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do unto you: your carcasses shall fall in this wilderness, and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward. I, the Lord, have spoken, surely this will I do unto this evil עֵרָה," Num. xiv. 27-35. Here, then, was the central conception of the עֵרָה יִשְׂרָאֵל. It was the national body politic,



the *πολιται*, composed of all the circumcised males above a certain age.<sup>1</sup> It had a fixed and well-determined constituency, that fluctuated only with the ebb and flow of the population from age to age. This fact reveals the etymological propriety of this technical term, and explains the fact already noted that it never occurs in the sense of an assembly gathered at a *fixed* time or place.<sup>2</sup> Right here, too, is the fundamental error in all the definitions cited above, in that they make the idea of an *actual assembly* the essential thing in the *עדה*, whereas it is altogether incidental.

Practically and primarily, then, the *עדה* stood for the nation in the strength and maturity of its manhood. Representing the nation in its wholeness, it was often used where, strictly speaking, all the people were included; e. g., "All the *עדה* of the children of Israel came to the wilderness of Sin," Exod. xvi. 1; cf. xvii. 1; Num. xxii. 1, 22, etc. When the people suffered from hunger or thirst, the *עדה* voiced the general discontent, Exod. xvi. 2; Num. xx. 2-11. It is the *עדה*, representing all the people, that kept the passover, Exod. xii. 3-47; were commanded to be holy, Lev. xix. 2; sinned through ignorance, Lev. iv. 13, 14; or mourned for Aaron, Num. xx. 29.

To convene so large a body of men in a judicial or deliberative assembly, or even to communicate directly to them the divine injunctions given to Moses, was of course out of question. The political organization of the people, which had developed itself in patriarchal fashion even before the establishment of the theocracy, found its natural representatives in the heads of families and tribes, the *זקנים* and the *נשיאים*. These coming together formed a smaller body which represented the whole *עדה*, as the *עדה* represented the whole nation. In the majority of instances where the word occurs, it seems to apply to this smaller body of elders and princes, but always with a tendency, almost irresistible, to glide into the larger technical sense of the entire political constituency, in which it so sinks its own individuality that in many instances it is impossible to distinguish between them. How large this representative body was there is no means of knowing, but it was of sufficient magnitude to have necessitated the selection of a still smaller body of seventy men to assist in the transaction of public business.

The *עדה ישראל* was the technical name of the whole body of circumcised males above twenty years of age, who either represented all the people, or were represented by the heads of their respective families.

<sup>1</sup> From the description of the *קהל* in Josh. viii., 35, which included "the women, the little ones, and the strangers that walked among them," Girdlestone draws the strange conclusion that the *קהל* "properly meant all the male adults of the nation," p. 363,—a proceeding not less remarkable than when, on the same page, he illustrates the meaning of *קהל* by passages that employ *עדה*.

<sup>2</sup> Gousset's definition of the *עדה* (*Lex. ling. hebr.*, 1743), as a *conventus hominum tempore indicto et locum indictum* is therefore not only wrong, but unsupported by a single fact.

Running through all the occurrences of קהל we perceive an explicit or implied reference to the fundamental idea—that of a gathering summoned, called, selected, or elected for a specific purpose or end. Sometimes it was gathered in view of a secular or social emergency (Num. xx. 10; Ezra x. 8), but far more frequently it designated an assembly of Israel gathered for strictly religious or theocratic purposes. Even in Deut. xxiii. 2-8, which seems to be the foundation of Vitringa's definition of the קהל<sup>1</sup>, it does not point to a close political corporation, but to a people called, elected from the surrounding nations to be holy unto the Lord; and therefore it was commanded to keep itself holy by the expulsion of illegitimate contaminations whether indigenous or foreign. In other words, it was a מקרא קדש. As such, while it covered the same constituency as the עדה (for which it is very rarely interchanged), it contemplates this constituency from a widely different point of view; e. g., Num. xx. 8, where Moses and Aaron were commanded to gather the עדה, and they summoned the קהל. Plainly this term would be used to designate the assembled representatives of the עדה, who, either during the hagiocracy (Lev. iv. 13), or during the monarchy (1 Chron. xiii. 2, 4; xxviii. 8, 29; i. 10, 20; 2 Chron. i. 35; xxiii. 3), were formally summoned to act respecting the secular or religious interests of the people. From this it easily passed into the designation of a political meeting (1 Kgs. xii. 8), or even an army (Judg. xx. 2; 1 Sam. xvii. 47; Jer. l. 9). As a rule, however, the קהל denoted either that part of the עדה of whatever rank which responded to the summons for a meeting at the אהל מועד, and such meetings were usually for religious purposes; or a solemn assembly of all the people, such as that gathered before Sinai to receive the law "in the day of the קהל," before the courts of the temple at its dedication and at Hezekiah's passover, or before the Lord in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah.

*The קהל was, in general, the name of any theocratic gathering of the people, and was composed of those who freely responded to a summons proceeding directly or indirectly from Israel's divine king.*

Apply the discriminations here made, and the correctness of the above conclusions will appear still more clearly. It was the עדה that murmured against Moses and Aaron, and said (Exod. xvi. 2, 3), "Ye have brought us forth into this wilderness to kill this whole קהל with hunger." The latter term, not the

<sup>1</sup> After a prolonged examination he concludes: "Vocabulum קהל valet significatu magis restricto et determinato quam vocabulum עדה. Notat enim proprie universam alicujus populi multitudinem, vinculis societatis unitam et rem publicam sive civitatem quondam constituentem, cum vocabulum עדה ex indole et vi significationis suae tantum dicat quemcunque hominum coetum et conventum, sive minorem sive majorem: imprimis tamen conditum statumque, non integri populi (etsi adeo latae sit significationis, ut et illi applicatur, ceu in textu modo adducto vidimus) sed certorum quorundam de populo virorum, quales sunt conventus et consilia magistratum."—*De synagoga vetere*, p. 80. From this it appears that he laboriously misses the meaning of עדה, as well as of קהל,

former, contemplated the people as brought forth, summoned, out of Egypt. The same distinction applies in Num. xvi. 3. In case the whole ערה of Israel sinned and the thing was hid from the eyes of the קהל, then, when the sin became known, the קהל was directed to take a bullock for a sin-offering, upon which the elders of the ערה were commanded to lay their hands, Lev. iv. 13-15. The ערה is here the whole body politic, the קהל its summoned representatives, further defined as the זקני הערה; for it is always the ערה and never the קהל that develops along genealogical lines. In 2 Chron. v. 2, 3, it is told that Solomon assembled "all the men of Israel" of all ranks at Jerusalem. In the sixth verse this assembly is rightly called the ערה of Israel. But in vi. 3, where it is said that Solomon "turned his face and blessed all the קהל of Israel,"—the same assembly,—the predominant thought is that of a congregation assembled for religious worship. With this view of קהל a deeper meaning is seen in the patriarchal blessings (Gen. xxviii. 3; xxxv. 11), than is conveyed by the words "multitude" or "company." A קהל עמים, or a קהל גוים, designated peoples or nations specially called, and, in so far as called, chosen out of the surrounding heathenism; it pointed not so much to a convocation as to an evocation of nations.

In the light of these definitions many facts otherwise inexplicable become easily understood. Since the constituency of the ערה depended on conditions beyond the control of the individual, it follows that we never read of a great or little ערה. Its magnitude was not contingent on the pleasure of those who composed it. Whether many or few, they represented the whole ערה, and transacted its business. Hence the pertinency of the Talmudic decision given by Bedarshi, that no ruling ערה should consist of less than ten elders. The קהל, on the contrary, had a constituency measured simply by personal willingness to respond to the summons. Because it was liable to be large or small we read of a קהל רב, Ps. xxii. 11, a קהל גדול, 1 Kgs. viii. 65, and even a קהל גדול מאד, 2 Chron. vii. 8. A man was born into the ערה; he went to the קהל or stayed away as it pleased him. This explains why no census was taken of the latter, but only of the former. In view of this distinction it is clear also why no instance occurs where women and children are spoken of as included in the ערה, and why their presence is repeatedly mentioned (Ezra x. 1; Neh. viii. 2; Jer. xliv. 15), or implied (Deut. v. 22) in the popular קהל. Since the former was the technical name for the Hebrew body politic, it would manifestly be inappropriate to use it of a non-Israelitish body, and it is never so used; the reverse is true of קהל, e. g., throughout Ezekiel. Because of the rebellious murmurings, sentence of death was pronounced on the ערה, as we have seen, but not on the קהל. The one naturally exercised political, judicial, and administrative functions; the other just as naturally did not. We meet the expression כל-קהל עדת בני ישראל, Num. xiv. 5; Exod. xii. 6; but never כל-עדת קהל, an impossible thought to a Hebrew writer to whom the former phrase was not a mere rhetorical amplification, but a

climax of social magnitudes. It is clear, finally, how such a writer might discriminate sharply between these terms, and yet, from different points of view, apply them to the same constituency.

Exceedingly interesting it is to follow these words in their historical evolution,—the עֵדָה into the later synagogue and sanhedrim, and the קָהָל into the New Testament *ἐκκλησία*; to trace their bearing on the fundamental conception of modern national churches; and to notice their misinterpretation and misuse in recent rationalistic criticism. The length of this paper, longer already than was anticipated, forbids anything beyond the mentioning of these lines of investigation.

KOTTEK'S "DAS SECHSTE BUCH DES BELLUM JUDAICUM."

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DAS SECHSTE BUCH DES BELLUM JUDAICUM [SYRISCH], nach der von Ceriani photolithographisch editen Peschitta-Handschrift übersetzt und kritisch bearbeitet von Dr. Hermann Kottke. Berlin: *Rosenstein & Hildesheimer*. 1886. 8vo. 80 pp. text, 45 pp. introduction and translation.

This little publication, with its rather ostentatious title, gives us the first two chapters of the Sixth Book of the *περὶ τοῦ ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου* of Josephus in a Syriac translation. The text is a copy of the same edited by Ceriani in his photolithographic edition of the P<sup>š</sup>ittâ.<sup>1</sup> We must be thankful to Dr. Kottek for placing this, in many respects, interesting translation within the reach of ordinary students. At the same time, we would recommend care in the use of Dr. Kottek's text in its present form. Had he collated his proof-sheets once more with the MS., he would have saved his readers much useless work. The text seems to be very negligently edited. S'yâmê points are at times placed, at times not; neither Wau 'alîštâ nor Yûdh h'bhistâ are expressed. In the punctuation, taḥtâyâ and 'elâyâ are either not noticed at all, or confounded with zaugâ. Nor is this all. The copula Wau is omitted, an 'âlah placed for an Hê, Dê(i)n for Gê(i)r, and words misspelt in a most confusing manner. In texts of the age and worth of the Ambrosian P<sup>š</sup>ittâ we have need of accurate diplomatic copies, such as those to which scholars like Lagarde, Sachau, Wright, etc., have accustomed us.<sup>2</sup> Further down I give a list of corrections, mainly made by collating again Ceriani's text. My own corrections I designate as such. I omit to note the errors in punctuation, in order not to swell the list unnecessarily.

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> In the preface Ceriani speaks of his having edited the text of this Sixth Book in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. V. I was unable to find this publication in any of the New York libraries. Prof. Lyon of Harvard University, to whom I turned for information, very kindly wrote to me (Sept. 11), "By reference to vol. V., fasc. I. of Ceriani's *Mon. Sac. et Prof.*, I find that book 6 (as far as L, 1-7) of Josephus' Jewish Wars is given in Syriac. The statement is made that the rest of book 6 would be in fasc. III., but this fasc. is not in the Harvard Library."

<sup>2</sup> The more so, since the editor himself (introd. p. 6) calls attention to the “accuracy and consistency” with which the points are placed. Had Dr. Kottek read a few more Syriac MSS., he would not have designated the two points placed under the third person feminine sing. of the Perfect as peculiar to this text. These two points, called m<sup>c</sup>pagg<sup>c</sup>dhānā (bridle), are peculiarly Nestorian. The Jacobites make use of two points, one underneath and the other above the final Tau; cf. Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, § 7; Duval, *Traité de Grammaire Syriaque*, § 87.

Dr. Kottek is probably right in assuming that the superscription is not original; but not so in his rendering of the last heading. I should translate: "fifth treatise; (written) by Josephus." The mistake seems to be an old one. 'Abhdîšô' bar Brîkhâ, speaking in his catalogue of Syriac books of the biblical and apocryphal writings, says :<sup>2</sup>

[illegible]

Evidently 'Abhdîsô' has understood the matter differently, making Josephus the author of the five treatises here mentioned. Counting the books of the Maccabees as one book, the "last destruction of Jerusalem" will be the fifth in order. Dr. Kotték is hardly right in speaking of this last as having been admitted into the Church Canon. Although the fourth book of the Maccabees occurs several times in biblical MSS.,<sup>5</sup> the Ambrosian is the only one containing the "last destruction of Jerusalem." Dionysius bar Šâlîbi (A. D. 1192), in his commentary on the Old and New Testament, says :<sup>6</sup> سَلَمَ فِي أَمْرِهِ بِسَعْدَتِهِ وَفِي أَمْرِهِ  
عَمَلِهِ خَيْرٌ وَأَعْلَى مِنْ أَعْلَى مَلَكِهِ وَأَمْرِهِ حَقٌّ هَتَا خَر  
مَعَهُ وَفِي أَمْرِهِ حَقٌّ هَتَا خَر.

I believe this to be the notice which has led 'Abhdîsô astray. It seems probable that the whole of the sixth book of Josephus' "*Bellum Judaicum*" once existed in a Syriac translation, together with the so-called "fourth book of the

<sup>1</sup> On **مذبح اسرا** see Eusebius on the *Theophania*, ed. Lee, 4:20, 1. 10; 15:16, which Dr. Kottke (text, p. 30) cites, probably from Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*; as, otherwise, he would have seen that it contains an extract from Josephus, Bk. VI. See also *Ibid.* 1. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibl. Orient.* III., p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Hardly the Mišnâh, as Assemani thinks. Perhaps the Pirê âbôth. Cf. the beginning of tract. ܡܬܢܐ ܕܡܝܨܢܐ. Badger (*Nestorians and their Ritual*, II., p. 362) gives an erroneous translation of this passage.

<sup>4</sup> *περὶ ἀλώσεως Ἰουδαίας*. Haverkamp, II., p. 47, note a.

<sup>5</sup> See Zotenberg, *Catalogue des MSS. Syriaques*, etc., p. 3. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, I., pp. 2, 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Bibl. Orient.*, II., p. 165. Cf. Bar 'Ebhra'yâ, *Chronicle, Syriacum*, p. 54.

Maccabees,"<sup>1</sup> early ascribed to Josephus. This would be the "taš'yaṭh b'nai Šemūni" of 'Abhdîšô'. The other items would cover the ground gone over by the sixth book of the "Bellum." See the scope of the same as laid down by Josephus himself in the preface, § 7. That the first part fell away, owing to the existence of the Maccabean books, is not surprising.

In the text I have noticed the following corrections:—p. 1: l. 2, **חַבַּת**. l. 5: The reading of the MS. **שִׁחַיָּא**, i. e., sughâyâ, is correct. It occurs again in Walton's Polyglott, 2 Macc. VIII. 16. See Payne Smith, col. 2521. Targ. **סוּגַיָּא**; Levy, TW., II. p. 143, where **שִׁחַיָּא** is a misunderstanding of Castell, p. 578. *ibid.* MS. **סוּגַיָּא** for **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 6, MS. **שִׁחַיָּא**. l. 8, **סוּגַיָּא**; above **סוּגַיָּא** MS. shows the word **סוּגַיָּא**. MS. **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 9: For **סוּגַיָּא** of the MS. read **סוּגַיָּא** *omen, sign* = *κληδών*, not **סוּגַיָּא** *divination*, as proposed in note c. l. 11, MS. **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 13, MS. **סוּגַיָּא** without Yûdh. The reading of the word rê(i)šâ is not always clear in old MSS. See Merx, ZDMG., xxxvii., p. 249. Even where it is so, one and the same MS. gives the word at times with, at times without the Yûdh. Note a, read **סוּגַיָּא**.

p. 2: Read **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 5, **סוּגַיָּא** is the correct reading. In the note appended to this word there is a strange confusion. **סוּגַיָּא** is the exact equivalent of *τὴν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ χώραν*. Dr. Kotték is wrong (text, p. 30, Nachtrag) in assuming that the word denotes the inner portion of a city. Lee had already (Payne Smith, col. 36) translated correctly "in its borders." This rendering is supported as well by the passage in the Theophania of Eusebius, which is a free rendering of Luke XXI. 21, where our texts read **סוּגַיָּא**, as opposed to the preceding **סוּגַיָּא**, as it is by our passage here.<sup>2</sup> In the translation Dr. Kotték has given the proper meaning. I may add that the word **סוּגַיָּא** occurs again in Hoffmann's Bar 'Alî (Kiel, 1874) p. 142:10, where **סוּגַיָּא** has been changed from **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 6: The reading of the MS. is correct, i. e. **סוּגַיָּא**; Cf. Prov. XXI. 26, where the Greek text has *ἀφειδῶς*. Payne Smith, col. 1223. l. 7, MS. **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 8, MS. **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 9, MS. **סוּגַיָּא** for **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 11: Read **סוּגַיָּא**, which may possibly be the reading of the MS. l. 12, MS. **סוּגַיָּא**.

p. 3: l. 7, MS. **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 8, MS. **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 9, MS. **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 13: **סוּגַיָּא** = *δεξιὰ τὸν ἄλγην*; where the text, as it now stands, is entirely unintelligible. l. 17, MS. **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 18, MS. **סוּגַיָּא**. l. 20: MS. **סוּגַיָּא** = *πρὶν*. See Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, glossary, p. 57. MS. **סוּגַיָּא**. In the text we must read **סוּגַיָּא** without S'yâmê, and omit note c. Dr. Kotték has

<sup>1</sup> *περὶ ἀντοκράτορος λογισμοῦ*.

<sup>2</sup> Josiphon ben Gërlon (ed. Breithaupt, 1710), p. 809, סביבות ירושלים.

been misled by supposing ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ to be feminine. George Karmoseddinâyâ (Payne Smith, col. 1681) says expressly ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. Our text is an exact translation of the Greek *πρὶν ἔγγισαι τοῖς χόμασι*.

p. 4: 1. 3, MS. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. 1. 4, MS. ܡܠܟܐ; note b, read ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 8, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 11, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 16, MS. ܡܠܟܐ.

p. 5: 1. 2, MS. ܐܠܗܐ. 1. 3, MS. ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; delete note b, and cf. Payne Smith, col. 1705. 1. 13, MS. ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 14, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 15, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 16, MS. ܡܠܟܐ, also 6:3. 1. 18, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 20, MS. ܡܠܟܐ.

p. 6: 1. 4: The manuscript reading is correct. Wau introduces the apodosis of the sentence commencing with ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 9, after ܡܠܟܐ MS. adds ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 11, the text is correct. ܡܠܟܐ = *ὁ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην*. See Payne Smith, col. 479. 1. 14, MS. ܡܠܟܐ; delete note f, and cf. 6:4.

p. 7: 1. 7, read as in note a. ܡܠܟܐ = *τοὺς ἀλκίμους*. 1. 8, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 11, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 13, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 15, MS. ܡܠܟܐ.

p. 8: 1. 1, MS. ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 2, MS. ܡܠܟܐ to distinguish it from ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 4, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 8, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 12, for the unintelligible ܡܠܟܐ read with the manuscript ܡܠܟܐ, which is not to be translated "with few," which would be ܡܠܟܐ, but "with great speed;" in the same sense as ܡܠܟܐ is used; see Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, ed. W. Wright, 56:24, Jes. 5:26; Knös, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, p. 70; Wright, *Contributions to the Apoc. Lit. of the N. T.*, 31:23; or "suddenly," 'Aprêm, I, 74 D. 1. 15, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 16, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 17, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. We must undoubtedly read ܡܠܟܐ, although the manuscript reading is ܡܠܟܐ, Greek *μετὰ τοιούτων ὁπλων*. ܡܠܟܐ is omitted in Dr. Kottek's translation and in the Greek; but curiously enough, is found again in Whiston's translation. 1. 18, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 19, read ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 20, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 21, MS. ܡܠܟܐ, also 9:2. 1. 22, MS. ܡܠܟܐ.

p. 9: 1. 3, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 4, MS. ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 6, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 7, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 8, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 9, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 10, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 11, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 14, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 16, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 17, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. For the use of this form for ܡܠܟܐ see Wright, *The Homilies of Aphraates*, I. list of errata. MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 18, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. Read ܡܠܟܐ as in manuscript. For the meaning "commence" see Bernstein's *Lexicon to his Chrestomathy*, p. 547.



p. 10: 1. 1, MS. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܐ. 1. 2, MS. ܠܡܠܟܐ. 1. 3, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 6, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 11, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 22, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 23, MS. ܡܠܟܐ.

p. 11: 1. 3, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 4, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 6: The text here is in perfect order. I see no necessity whatever for adding ܡܠܟܐ. Such constructions (where the subject is repeated by a possessive pronoun) occur often in Syriac (Nöldeke, *Syrische Gram.*, § 317), as in other Semitic dialects. Cf. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܐ Nöldeke, *Mandäische Gram.*, § 275, p. 409; Caspari-Müller, *Arab. Gram.*, § 485. For the intransitive use of ܡܠܟܐ see Payne Smith, col. 1739. 1. 7, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 8, after ܡܠܟܐ MS. reads ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 9, MS. ܡܠܟܐ as proposed in note c. 1. 10: Here too the text, although paraphrasing the original, is correct. The MS. shows a point after ܡܠܟܐ, indicating that this word is not to be construed with the next one, but with the preceding. I hardly see how Dr. Kotték could translate this sentence as he has. ܡܠܟܐ is never construed with ܡܠܟܐ. Waving the question raised in note d, whether ܡܠܟܐ can have the meaning "envy," as the text stands, we can only take ܡܠܟܐ as the plural fem. of ܡܠܟܐ (for this form of the adjective used as a noun see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 215 a, p. 299) that which is stable, firm, Castell-Michaelis, p. 969; Bernstein, *Lexicon*, p. 369. Cf. ܡܠܟܐ two lines lower down (Bernstein, *loc. cit.*, 570; Hoffmann, *De hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristoteleis*, 216:11 seq., ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܐ, Wright, *Catalogue*, 506 b.

p. 12: 1. 1, MS. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܐ. 1. 4, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 5, ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 6: The text is here in order. ܡܠܟܐ refers to ܡܠܟܐ (for similar constructions see 3:1; 13:6); ܡܠܟܐ = ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 9, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 10, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 13, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 16, MS. ܡܠܟܐ.

p. 13: 1. 4, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 5, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 6, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 8, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 14, MS. ܡܠܟܐ.

p. 14: 1. 3, read ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 5, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 9, read ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 15, MS. reads ܡܠܟܐ in place of ܡܠܟܐ, and vice versa.

p. 15: 1. 5, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 6, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 8, MS. ܡܠܟܐ in place of ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 16, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 17, MS. ܡܠܟܐ. 1. 20, manuscript reads ܡܠܟܐ, which I have met with only in the meaning "angustia, tristitia;" Castell-Michaelis, 642; Bernstein, 366; Hoffmann, *De hermeneuticis*, 196:31, "morbis lethalis," 'Aphrem, II., 83 D, 84 C; "periculum morbis," *ibid.*, 96 b. Dr. Kotték is right in reading ܡܠܟܐ (18:4; 29:14), Greek βούλη. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, III., 205:15; Lagarde,

*Analecta Syriaca*, 119:22, 24; Castell-Michaelis gives ܩܬܬܐ as the plural. Read ܩܬܬܐ, Bernstein, p. 366; Duval *Grammaire Syriacque*, p. 260; Bar 'Ebhryâ, *Grammar* (ed. Martin), I, 32:4.

p. 16: 1. 1, MS. ܥܣ, 1. 8, manuscript has the wrong reading ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 12, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 14, MS. ܐܬܐ. 1. 16, MS. ܠܐ. I suppose that 'Αρσίμων (Josiphôn ben Gorion, ed. Breithaupt, 1710, p. 821, has ܐܪܫܝܡܘܢ) is some old corruption of 'Ιαρίπος + Σίμων.

p. 17: 1. 1, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 2, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 3, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 4, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 6, MS. ܐܬܐ. 1. 9, MS. reads ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ!. 1. 14, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ.

p. 18: 1. 12, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 13, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 14, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 20, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 22, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ.

p. 19: 1. 2: The change of ܡܠܬܐ into ܡܠܬܐ is unnecessary, although I know of no such use of the word. It is guaranteed by p. 17:5. 1. 7, MS. ܡܠܬܐ. 1. 12, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ.

p. 20: 1. 1: I read the first word ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 2: The addition of ܡܠܬܐ is unnecessary; Payne Smith, col. 479. 1. 3, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 5, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 8, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 9, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ is correct. I fail to see in what way the proposed emendation would better the text. "And another Bar Mattai" clearly distinguishes him from the four sons of the other of the same name. 1. 9, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 10, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 11, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ.

p. 21: 1. 1, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ, i. e., ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ, to distinguish it from ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 'Ebhokhos (private manuscript of Professor Sachau, Berlin), fol. 55 a; ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 2, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ; in note a read ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ for ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 9, delete point after ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ; read ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 13, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 15, in the MS. the traces of the S'yâmê points over ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ are still to be seen.

p. 22: 1. 1, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 4, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 5, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 9, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 12: Omit the unintelligible Dâlath of ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ; it is not in the MS.

p. 23: 1. 3, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 4, read ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 10, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. So 1. 12.

p. 24: 1. 3, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 10, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 13, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ.

p. 25: 1. 4, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 7, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 10, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 15, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 16, MS. reads ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ after the word ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 21, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ.

p. 26: 1. 2, read ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ. 1. 5, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ, compare 1. 7. 1. 7, MS. ܡܠܬܐܢܝܢ, i. e.,

ܡܕܢܐ . 1. 8, read ܡܕܢܐ, Duval, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 125. Bar 'Ebhryâ, *Gram.* I. 26:25. Read ܡܕܢܐ [ܡܕܢܐ] . 1. 11, MS. ܡܕܢܐ .

p. 27: 1. 1, MS. ܡܕܢܐ . Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 239. 1. 2, in the MS. I see the traces of a bê(i)th before ܡܕܢܐ . 1. 12, MS. ܡܕܢܐ . This mistake between Dâlath and Rîš occurs often in the Syriac Bible; compare cases such as ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , Gen. II. 12; ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , 1 Chron. XI. 47; ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , Gen. IV. 18; ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , Gen. X. 3; ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , Gen. X. 7; ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , Gen. X. 19; ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , Gen. X. 22; ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , XIV. 1; ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , *ibid.*; ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , XXII. 22. Bar 'Ebhryâ, in his 'aušar ('râzê, reads ܡܕܢܐ *ibid.*; ܡܕܢܐ , XXV. 3; ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , XXV. 14; ܡܕܢܐ , ܡܕܢܐ , XXVI. 1; *ZDMG.* XXXI. 317. Perles: *Melemata Peschittoniana*, p. 19. 1. 16, MS. ܡܕܢܐ . 1. 20, MS. ܡܕܢܐ , read ܡܕܢܐ .

p. 28: 1. 5, MS. ܡܕܢܐ . 1. 7, MS. ܡܕܢܐ . 1. 11, read ܡܕܢܐ . 1. 13, the incorrect reading ܡܕܢܐ has been caused by the occurrence of the word in the next line. MS. ܡܕܢܐ . 1. 18, MS. reads ܡܕܢܐ , as proposed in note b. What follows in the MS. I cannot make out. The three points do not indicate a gap. The following word gives no sense. Nor can the middle letter be a Semkath, as no MSS. of this age which have come under my notice show this letter bound to the next one on the left side. See Wright: *The Homilies of Aphraates*, p. 15, note. ܡܕܢܐ does not, in any case, belong here. 1. 20, Dr. Kotték's emendation will not hold, as ܡܕܢܐ is unnecessary. Read ܡܕܢܐ = μέγα, and translate "is no great thing."

p. 29: 1. 5, MS. ܡܕܢܐ . 1. 12, MS. ܡܕܢܐ .

So much for the text. As regards the German translation, I am sorry that I am not able to speak more favorably. The translation of an Oriental text may be of use in either of two ways. It may assist the Orientalist in understanding a difficult passage, and in getting at the exact meaning of a certain word. It may, however, furnish the non-Orientalist with a faithful picture of what the original text offers. In either case, exactness is demanded, even at the expense of style, as Gildermeisten has done, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXVII., pp. 525 seq. It is true, Dr. Kotték intended to offer us "as literal a translation as possible" (p. 16). I do not think he has been successful in carrying out his intention. At times he has allowed himself to be led astray by the Greek "translation," in face of the plain sense of the Syriac, viz., p. 4:13, the word r(h)ômâyê is omitted as in the Greek; p. 4:18, s'ghâ is translated "surround" (φράσσω), with which meaning I have never met; p. 21, l. 9, "The former had the rebels in the presence of the Romans;"—the second clause being the Greek καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰστάμενοι, which is omitted in the Syriac. In a translation it is often necessary to add a word or two to render the sense of the original clear. Such additions should invariably be put in brackets.

See transl. p. 18, l. 11: "would be compelled to lament;" p. 19, l. 1: "for;" l. 11: "they asked themselves;" p. 21, l. 13: "although the Roman;" p. 22, l. 1: "individualities." Dr. Kottek has not seen that it is but an awkward rendering of the Greek *διέτεθη τὰ φρονήματα*. P. 36, l. 4: "naturally;" l. 6: "in truth," etc. A number of passages are insufficiently—some incorrectly—translated. I will only notice a few instances; e. g., p. 1, l. 4 "aufreiben," instead of some such word as "consume" (Gr. *νέμω*). Dr. Kottek, it seems, has understood the word *r'â* in the sense of *ra'*; l. 7, *damkârbin* (h)wau 'amhôn means "those who fought with them" *τοῖς μαχομένοις*, and not "those who fought with one another (*bah'dhâdhê*); l. 12 is translated: "reviled their enemies, and went courageously to battle with them." I do not know on what authority Dr. Kottek gives *k'lâ* this meaning. We must translate: "they derided (*maklê(i)n*) [the idea of] fighting with their enemies." For *k'lâ* with 'al in this meaning see 29:10, where the whole construction is very similar; 'Aph'el, Bar 'Ebh râyâ, 'Auşar ('Râzê to Gen. XII. 4; Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, p. 63; Michaelis (Cast.-Mich., p. 798) doubts that the root *k'lâ* has this meaning. But see the examples quoted above, and compare Levy TW. II., p. 362. P. 3, l. 12 must be translated: "nor their courage shaken by their suffering" *ἀνάλωτον δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς ἐνθυμίαν εἶναι*. What follows is also badly translated. It is an awkward rendering of the Greek, and must read: "for what would they not enjoy [favored] with good fortune—*δεξιῶ τὴν καλὴν*—who, through evil, are led to valor" *taknâith* = *πρὸς ἀλκὴν*. The root *t'kan* is often used in this more ethical sense. Compare 'abhdê *taknê* 'Aprêm I. 395 A. 272 C.; dubbârê *taknê* Wright, *Catalogue*, 573b; Eusebius, on *Theophania* II. c. 71; Bernstein, *Lexicon*, p. 570. *taknâith* Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, p. 70. This makes note 5 on p. 19 trans. unnecessary, as also the addition in the text of "they asked themselves." L. 18, translate "the Jews sought to hinder them in their works;" l. 20, "and before they came near to the banks their hopes were blighted," reading 'adh and *tukhlâthhôn*. *Ψυχρότεροι πῆς ἐλπίδος*; compare *tukhlânâ*, 7:15; p. 4, l. 1, supply "but;" l. 4, the text reads *w'men*, where the Waw does not seem to be in the right place; p. 20, trans. note 4 is wrong. 'en *hâlê(i)n nezkyân l'dhilhôn* = *εἰ πάντα κρατῆσειαν*; *ibid.*, note 5, read: "wanting in the Syriac;" p. 7, l. 12, "and that the ascent of the wall is difficult, I am the first to say to you;" l. 15, "the good fruits of bravery" belongs to the preceding sentence. In the MS. there is a point after *d'hallîşûthâ*. Translate: "and first let the hope for a proper commencement—do you not be withheld [by this argument (a free rendering of *τὸ τινὲς ἰσως ἀποτρίπτον*)]—come to you from the perseverance of the Jews;" *ibid.* note *a* must be omitted, Nöldeke, § 24; p. 9, l. 11, read *w'kallîl*; p. 10, l. 11, "of those, however, who were in the cohort, one did service, by name Sabinus." Dr. Kottek seems to have read *pâlhîn*, which would agree with the Greek *στρατενομένων*; l. 19, the translation "that my power and good-will follow upon thy victory" gives no sense. Unless the Syriac translator has taken *n'mann'ôn bâthar* as equivalent to the Greek *ἀπὸ κολωνθήσαι*, we must read: *d'bâthar hail(i) w'sebhyâ-*

n(i) n'mann'ôn sâkhôthâkh. Whiston translates "my fortune;" with what authority, I do not know. The received text has σὴν. P. 12, l. 9, "as if through some evil genius" â(i)kh d'men = ἀναλόγως? : p. 13, l. 14, I would emend the text in the following way : šuryâ (h)wâ lakrâbhâ bh'ma'îlânâ takkîphâith ; p. 15, l. 4, "a man whom I had seen in the war" ὃν ἐγὼ κατ' ἐκείνον ἰσθόρησα τὸν πόλεμον ; p. 15, l. 19, "fell upon his side;" p. 16, l. 1, the fifth, sixth and seventh words seem to be out of place, and to belong to the second line, which would then read : w'men yûkârêh d'zainâ lâ 'eškakh. P. 16, l. 5, Dr. Kottek gives the curious translation : "lost his courage" instead of "his soul expired," i. e., he gave up the ghost. Compare an exactly similar expression, Wright : *Contributions to the apocryphal Literature*, 56:4; Zunz : *Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie*, p. 641. The word naphšâ is generally omitted, Mark xv. 3 ; 2 Macc. i. 7, 13 (Cast.-Mich.). P. 17, l. 4, the translation "On the 17th of Tamus [read Tammûz] all the people were humiliated" is impossible. Dr. Kottek seems to have read gurgâyê, a word which seldom occurs in Syriac literature, Payne Smith, col. 774. If the text reading—gurâghâ—is right, we must translate : "there was an excitement on account of the [scarcity of] people." I regard as doubtful, however, the MS. reading, which ought probably to be some word corresponding to the Greek ἀπορία ; p. 17, l. 9, Dr. Kottek entirely ignores the word lêh. Translate : "The offerings should be allowed him (i. e., it should be allowed him to bring offerings) with the aid (b'yadh) of such Jews as he should select for himself;" l. 13, lam'sâph "to consume it;" p. 18, l. 14, 'en is omitted in the translation, which should read "seeing that foreign nations," and should be connected with the foregoing. "But you" commences a new sentence ; l. 22, "bore captivity." P. 19, l. 13, k'bhar not "perhaps," but "already, now," Gr. ἀπα ; p. 20, l. 16, "cheerfully" is omitted in the translation ; Gr. ἀσμέντοι ; p. 22, l. 1, the text here is very difficult to understand. Dr. Kottek's translation gives no sense. Some emendation is necessary. If in lines 3 and 4 we change the places of r(h)ômâyê and yûdhâyê respectively, we get a sense approaching the Greek original : "and [indeed] so far did all their wickedness [reach]—men who should, by rights, have been plunged into sorrow and grief, if one of the Romans had shown the intention ('emar) of desecrating (n'awwel and not ne'ôl, as Dr. Kottek takes it. ἐξυθρίζοιεν, compare 17:9 trans. p. 37, note 6) their (the Jews') sanctuary—[that], because the Jews were [steeped] in such wickedness, the Romans themselves commenced to despise [them]." P. 23, l. 8, s'kubhlâ "opposition;" p. 25, l. 25. It has been entirely misunderstood, and has unnecessarily occasioned note 1, p. 41, trans. If we make one or two emendations, the Syriac text corresponds exactly with the Greek. The word rê'sâ 25:23 ought to have shown the way. We must read 25:23 dh'khudhnawâthâ ; 26:1 wath'rênâyâ men 'akhsehra dhê(i)n garb'yaitâ dh'îthêh "so that they raised the foremost one of the banks over against that corner of the inner court which [looked] to the north-west, a second one against the northern edifice, which was between its two gates. The other two were at the

western and northern cloisters of the temple." P. 26, l. 7, "on account of the long time;" p. 27, l. 2, "and especially on account of the care [which the Romans would have to give] their bodies," Greek πρὸς θεραπείας ἡδὴ τοῦ σώματος ὄντων; l. 21, "in those days" b'hânê(i)n [yaumâthâ] and not = b'hâdhêdh, as Dr. Kottek seems to understand it. P. 28, l. 5, "then the Jews cut off [the roof]; l. 16, "the thought also occurred to some—[and] not unreasonably," a hard rendering of λογισμὸς οὐκ ἀσυνετός; p. 29, l. 4, the text has 'ûdos or 'eudos (compare ܘܕܝܐ 2 Θεοῦδᾶς Nöld., *Syr. Gram.*, § 144). Dr. Kottek translates Pudens. Perhaps we ought to read ܘܕܝܐ. The Latin translation and Whiston have Pudens! l. 6, "because he overestimated;" l. 8, "and threw him down;" l. 16, the plural is right here, τοῖς ἀλόγως ἐντυχοῦσι.

There are a few extracts from Josephus which I have met with in my Syriac reading. They may as well find a place here. In the *Theophania* of Eusebius (ed. Lee), 4:21, there is a passage which is also contained in Ceriani's publication. It will be interesting to compare both texts. It is from *Bell. Jud.*, 3:3. In the accompanying foot-notes, A = Ceriani, B = Eusebius.

1. **مجلس** 2. **مجلس** 3. **مجلس** 4. **مجلس** 5. **مجلس** 6. **مجلس** 7. **مجلس** 8. **مجلس** 9. **مجلس** 10. **مجلس** 11. **مجلس** 12. **مجلس**

<sup>1</sup> B **الحسن**

<sup>2</sup> B ܐܝܡܝ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ = εἰμι γὰρ αὐτοῦ δηλώσω ἐργον.

3 B 40

4 B **حصص**

<sup>5</sup> B **ⲉⲗⲁⲓ** *ἱστορήται.*

<sup>6</sup> Wanting in B.

حضرت امام رضا و علیہ السلام محمد بن ابی حمزہ

<sup>s</sup>B هنا . أما . A's هنا = τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτόν, a very unusual expression.

۹ B و مکتبہ

<sup>10</sup> B ਸਲਮ ਭਵਨ ਮੇਧੋਲੇ ਖਣਿਏ

<sup>11</sup> This seems to be the reading of the MS., although it is conjectural on my part. Greek βῆθε ἐν αὐτῷ. Wanting in B. The text in A should probably read  $\text{ܒܝܬܗ} \text{ܕܡܪܝܚܐ} \text{ܕܥܝܠܡ}$ .

12 B **ਮਹਾਨ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ** **ਮਹਾਨ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ** **ਮਹਾਨ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ**

B  
 אֲנִי מְבַרְכֶּךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 אֲנִי מְבַרְכֶּךָ 1. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ וְכֵן אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 אֲנִי מְבַרְכֶּךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ 2. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 3. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 4. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 5. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 6. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 7. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 8. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 9. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 10. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 11. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 12. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 13. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 14. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

אֲנִי מְבַרְכֶּךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ וְכֵן אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 אֲנִי מְבַרְכֶּךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ 2. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 3. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
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 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 6. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 7. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 8. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 9. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 10. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 11. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 12. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 13. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 14. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

אֲנִי מְבַרְכֶּךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ 11. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 12. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 13. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ 14. וְכֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

<sup>1</sup> Wanting in A, = *συνεπολιόρκειτο*.

<sup>2</sup> Read אֲנִי

<sup>3</sup> Gr. *kān el ti*. Perhaps אֲנִי

<sup>4</sup> *ἐπινοέω*. Cf. 'Aprēm, I., 409 m; ZDMG., XXXI., 374:4; Bar 'Ebhryā, *Gram.*, I., 24:25; *Syr. Gram. des Mar Eliās von Turhan*, 83:14.

<sup>5</sup> This construction is admissible, although not usual. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> Note the Wau here.

<sup>7</sup> Expresses the *ti* in *τι τροφής*.

<sup>8</sup> Read אֲנִי

<sup>9</sup> Read with B אֲנִי

<sup>10</sup> = מִיָּמִינוּ

<sup>11</sup> B אֲנִי מְבַרְכֶּךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ (σὺμβουλον)

<sup>12</sup> B אֲנִי

<sup>13</sup> B אֲנִי מְבַרְכֶּךָ, but before אֲנִי

<sup>14</sup> B אֲנִי







3:15; men kulhôn, 4:5 = πάντων; šabhkê, 4:16 = ἀφετήρια. If the following words of the text are correct,—perhaps we ought to read hânôn,—they are a poor rendering of the Greek τῶν προστηδόντων. 'adh nê'thê...k'râbhâ l'idhaihôn, p. 5, l. 2 = εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν; nettebh 'al š'wârôn, p. 8, l. 21. Dr. Kottek affirms (preface, p. 15) that there occur in the translation many words which are only to be found again in the Aramaic—by which, I suppose, he means the dialects of the Targumîm and Talmûdhîm. I have been unable to find such, and am sorry that Dr. Kottek has so limited the number which he himself quotes. And even these three vanish, when looked at a little closer. The word š'bhaḳ, "permit" does occur in Syriac, Mark i. 34, w'lâ šâbhek (h)wâ l'hôn. This passage, as well as the others cited Cast.-Mich. p. 888, s. v. šâbhôkâ, belong under the rubric š'bhaḳ. Bernstein, *Lexicon*, p. 500. For the 'Ethp'el in the same meaning, Hahn and Sieffert, *Chrestomathia Syriaca* (1825), p. 224. For k'nâ "envy," Dr. Kottek could have cited, in support of his theory, its occurrence in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Franciscus Miniscalchi Erizzo, *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*, etc., p. 393). My collections for Syriac lexicography do not contain the word in that meaning in Edessenian Syriac. k'nê'thâ, Job v. 2 (Bernstein, p. 449) is simply the Hebrew kîn'âh. Dr. Kottek would, however, have done better to have left this word out of his argument, as it rests (p. 11, l. 10 and note d) on the very slender basis of conjecture and emendation. I have shown above how untenable both are. Compare also 18:15. The form of the root gûph, 24:11 (not gaph, as Dr. Kottek has it) can as well be read m'ghayy'phîn in Pa'el, for which Payne Smith, col. 687, gives one authority. The Targumîm seem also to use this word as an 'Ay'n-U one. Levy, TW., I., 131 (the place to which Dr. Kottek refers) gives gûph.

If the external arguments fail thus to support the theory propounded, so do the internal ones taken from a comparison of the Syriac with the Greek text. From a consideration of the general character of the text, very little can be won. Few of the translations from the Greek—if we except those of the Aristotelian Canon—keep closely to their original. Few translators are as conscientious as Sargîs Rîš'ainâyâ (Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, p. 134:23 seq.). On the contrary, they seek rather to give only the meaning conveyed by their originals. On this point, Licentiat Ryssel has summed up the evidence in his two excellent essays, *Ueber den text-kritischen Werth der Syrischen Uebersetzungen Griechischer Klassiker*, I., II. Leipzig, 1880.

Our translation of Josephus belongs to the second of the three divisions of Ryssel (I., p. 4). But this would surely be no reason (Kottek, preface, p. 9) to doubt its having a Greek original. The other arguments might be noticed here. ch. 1, § 5: If we accept the very probable conjecture of Dr. Kottek himself, both texts will agree. § 5: The opening sentences of the speech, as it stands in the Syriac version, seem to me more in accord with what has preceded than in the Greek. Josephus says expressly that Titus was of the opinion that "exhortations

and promises would strengthen the courage of his soldiers." ch. IV. § 1: I have not the Syriac text at hand; though I doubt whether there is any real difference between it and the Greek. I understand the Syriac to mean that the Romans first weakened and partly demolished the gate, and then applied ladders and fire. ch. 5. § 3: The Syriac translator has simply blundered here, having been led astray by the preceding mention of the night of the festival. In the same way, many of the "additions" (as 3:10; 5:13) can be explained as omissions on the part of the Syriac translator. On the whole, he seems to strive after conciseness of expression, ch. 2: 3, n. 2; ch. 3:1. In ch. 1, § 6, note 3, *ὁρμή τινι δαμονίῳ* did not suit the Christian Syrian; for which reason he altered it. Ryssel, *loc. cit.*, I., 4; II., 50. To the same category belong the changes in ch. 2, § 4, note 3, ch. 2, § 10, Pudens succumbs to Jonathan rather than to chance. See ch. 1, § 1, note 6, § 8, note 1. *ὅτι ἄσχημος ἦν ἄνθρωπος* is omitted as not necessary for the sense; *ibid.* note 9, it is only the first five words which are left out in the Syriac. The translator did not deem it necessary to add these words, as the fact is easily understood from the narrative itself.

It may be permitted me to call attention to some lexicographical points which I have noticed while reading the text. 1:10 m'phalpal in the sense of "stained" *φύρω*. Hex. Jerem. 2:3 (Cast.-Mich.); Bar 'Alî ed. Hoffmann, 228:7; Payne Smith, col. 1504; 'Aprêm I., 205 A. Compare farther on 21:18, where it is a translation *ad sensum* of *θερμάς τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντες*; 29:10 in the meaning of the German "wälzen" (*Sindban*, ed. Baethgen, 9:10); Targûmish כָּלַל (Levy, TW., II., 271). p. 2, l. 2, d'lâ bhûnâyâ = *ἀπόγνωσις* "desperation" (to be added Payne Smith, col. 469). p. 2, l. 4, kudhnawâthâ. Payne Smith, col. 1181, has a remark on this passage. p. 2, l. 9, tašb'yâthâ. Jer. 2:32, 4:30; 'Aprêm I., 345 D; *Spicilegium Syriacum*, 26:16, 48:3. In the same sense sebhtâ, l. 12; Eusebius, *Theophania*, I., 4:1; Jes. 3:18; Hoffmann, *de hermeneuticis*, 203:27. Curious is the use of nestakbal. p. 2, l. 12, "arrive, come to." Levy TW., II., 185. p. 14, l. 15 it has its usual signification. p. 3, l. 3, t'hebbh, of which the P'al is not given. Cast.-Mich. p. 936; see ZDMG., XXIV., 268:25; Bar 'Ebh râyâ to Jes. 19:2, Tullberg 14, note p. 12; Dionysius Telmahrensensis 117:8, note, p. 303; Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, p. 69 s. v. p. 4, l. 1, 'ethpakkah; 29:16. Bickell, *loc. cit.* p. 60, 'Ebh dokhos (private MS. of Prof. Sachau, Berlin) fol. 26a. *إِبْقِهْ خَبْبُهْ . مِنْ السَّاجِ . إِبْقِهْ (!) كِهْ* in the meaning "pacare," 'Aprêm, II., 242 C; "temperare," *ibid.* I., 10 A, 16, 5 C; *Spic. Syr.*, 21:3. p. 5, l. 19, *سَعْدِيْ* (sic) 24:11; *سَعْدِيْ* "scutus"? p. 8, l. 3, šu'lâyâ, "superbia." 'Aprêm, II., 119 D, 124 F; I., 339 E. p. 10, l. 2, šuph'ân, "profusio." l. 15, šîyûthâ, "color of the face," where the masc. 'ukkâmâ next to h'wâth is strange. Nöldeke, ZDMG., XXXVII., 535, note 1. The citation from Titus of Bostra is a slip of the pen, as the word mentioned there is šanyûthâ. 'Ebh dokhos also gives the pronunciation as trisyllabic (fol. 137 b). *مِبْطَا آ* with the marginal



# THE STROPHICAL ORGANIZATION OF HEBREW TRIMETERS.

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An absence in Europe for eight months prevented me from continuing the series of articles on Hebrew Poetry, begun in the *HEBRAICA* in April, 1886, until the present time. In the first article I presented some specimens of the trimeter movement, with a study of the lines and their interrelation in the varied forms of Parallelism. I now purpose to consider the strophical organization of the trimeter poems. The strophes are sometimes marked externally by the initial letters of the strophes being in alphabetical order, or by refrains. But in most cases, the strophical organization can be determined only by a careful study of the poem, with reference to the breaks in the sense and emotion, and of the parallelism of the sections on a larger scale. There is great freedom and variety in the strophical organization.

1) The simplest strophe is the distich. We have an example of this in the alphabetical Psalm xxxiv.

אברכה את־יהוה בכל־עת

תמיד תהלתי בפי

ביהוה תתהלל נפשי

ישמעו עננים וישמחו

גדלו ליהוה אתי

ונרוממה שמו יחדו

דרשתי את־יהוה וענני

ומכל מגורתי הצילני

הביטו אליו ונהרו

ופניהם אל יחפרו

זה־עני קרא ויהוה שמע

ומכל צרותיו הושיעו

These six strophes sufficiently illustrate the movement. The strophes continue through the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. There is one letter omitted, namely, the ך that should come in between ך and ך. There is also an additional

strophe at the end with פ. This shows that the original poem has been changed by omission and addition in these two instances, and opens our eyes to look for other similar modifications of Hebrew poems where the alphabetical structure does not aid us to determine them. These lines are all trimeters except the first in the strophe with י. The tetrameter here seems to be designed to make an antithesis between the calling and the answering.

2) We have a specimen of a trimeter poem with strophes of four lines in the prayer Psalm III.

## I.

יהוה מה-רבו צרי  
רבים קמים עלי  
רבים אמרים לנפשי  
אין ישועתה-לו באלהים

## II.

ואתה יהוה מגן-בערי  
כבודי ומרים ראשי  
קולי אל-יהוה אקרא  
ויענני מהר קרשי

## III.

אני שכבתי ואישנה  
הקיצותי כי-יהוה יסמכני  
לא-אירא מרבבות עם  
אשר-סביב שתו עלי

## IV.

קומי הושיעני אלהי  
כי-הכית את-כל-איבי לחי  
שני רשעים שברת  
ליהוה הישועה על-עמך ברכתך

At the close of strophes I. and II. the Massoretic text gives סלה. This is thought by some to mark strophical divisions at times. I do not believe this. These strophes are so arranged that the second is antithetical to the first and the fourth to the third. But the strophes are really in introverted parallelism, in that the two middle strophes are antithetical to the strophes that begin and close the prayer. The lines are trimeters with the exception of the initial and the concluding lines of the last strophe. Here the movement is changed to the tetrameter in the last line, in order that it may become more deliberate and quiet at the end,

expressing the firm confidence of the Psalmist in his God. But we can see no reason for a change to the tetrameter movement in the first line. Accordingly we have stricken out the יהוה which is unnecessary to the thought and really out of place in the rhythm. We have found a large number of examples in Hebrew poetry and prophecy in which divine names have been inserted by later editors who did not understand the rhythm. It is also probable that the relative אשר in the closing line of the third strophe is such a prosaic addition. It may be combined with סביב by Maqqeph, but it is more commonly omitted in Hebrew poetry.

3) Psalm CXLVIII. gives us an example of strophes of six lines.

## I.

הללו את-יהוה מן-השמים  
הללוהו במו מרומים  
הללוהו כל מלאכיו  
הללוהו כל צבאיו  
הללוהו שמש וירח  
הללוהו כל כוכבי-אור

## II.

הללוהו שמי השמים  
וחמים אשר-מעל השמים  
יהללו את-שם יהוה  
כי-הוא צוה ונבראו  
ויעמידם לעד לעולם  
חק נתן ולא-יעבור

## III.

הללו את-יהוה מן-הארץ  
תנינים וכל תהמות  
אש וברד שלג-וקיטור  
רוח-סערה עשה רברו  
ההרים וכל גבעות  
עץ-פרי וכל ארזים

## IV.

החיה וכל בהמה  
רמש וצפור כנף  
מלכי-ארץ וכל לאמים

שרים וכל שפטי-ארץ  
בחורים וגם בתולות  
זקנים עם נערים

V.

יהללו את-שם יהוה  
כי-נשגב שמו לברו  
הודו על-ארץ ושמים  
וירם קרן לעמו  
תהלה לכל חסידיו  
לבני-ישראל עם קרבי

This is a Hallelujah Psalm indicated by its appended title **הללויה**. There can be no doubt that there is a division at the third strophe, where there is an antithesis between

הללו את-יהוה מן-השמים

and

הללו את-יהוה מן-הארץ

This would seem to divide the Psalm into two parts. There is, however, manifestly another strophe, beginning with

יהללו את-שם יהוה

This last strophe has but six lines. It therefore seems necessary to break the previous parts in two, if the strophes are to be uniform. Such a break is given in the first part by rising to the more general statement in the

הללוהו שמי השמים

and in the second part by passing over to the animal kingdom.

Furthermore, the last strophe is as closely related to the second part, as the second strophe is to the third part. For in the third line of the second strophe we have

יהללו את-שם יהוה

followed by the reason

כי-הוא צנה ונבראו

and it is evident that the first and second lines are in parallelism with them :

יהללו את-שם יהוה

כי נשגב שמו לברו

Thus the Psalm is composed of two parts, with two strophes in the first and three in the second. It is of the nature of the hymn thus to swell in ascriptions of praise.

One modification of the text seems to be necessary. The second line of the Psalm is a dimeter if we read **במרומים**, but I can see no propriety in such a



dimeter here. It is probable that we should separate the ב and write it after the poetic style כמו and so get the third beat of the accent.

4) We have an example of a strophe of seven lines in Psalm II. We shall give the two strophes of the first part:

## I.

למה רגשו גוים  
ולאמים יהגו ריק  
יתיצבו מלכי ארץ  
ורוזנים נוסדו יחד  
על-יהוה ועל-משיחו  
ננתקה את מוסדותימו  
ונשליכה ממנו עבתימו

## II.

יושב בשמים ישחק  
ארני ילעג למו  
אז ידבר אלימו  
באפו ובחרונו יבהלמו  
ואני נסכתי מלכי  
על-ציון הר קדשי

The second strophe is here antithetical to the first strophe. This antithesis is complete, extending through every line but the fifth, which is omitted in the second strophe. It seems to us clear that the original poem has been mutilated by the omission of this line which ought to have given the גוים ומלכי ארץ as the antithesis to על יהוה ועל-משיחו. It would seem that this latter line is a dimeter in order to make a pause of a single beat before giving the words of rebellion. The Massoretes have incorrectly arranged the third and fourth lines of the second strophe by attaching באפו to the third line and thus making the fourth line a dimeter. There would be a sufficient reason for this if it was the original line preceding the words of Jehovah to the rebels, but this is probably not the case. Furthermore, the rhyme is preserved if we make the three lines close with למו, אלימו, and מו. The Hebrew poet is fond of rhyming through a few lines, as here; but he does not care to carry it on to any great length.

5) Psalm XLIX. gives us strophes of eight lines.

## I.

שמעו זאת כל-העמים  
האזינו כל-ישרי חלד

גם בני-אדם גם-בני-איש  
 יחד עשיר ואביון  
 פי ידבר חכמות  
 וחגות לבי תבונות  
 אטה למשל אזני  
 אפתח בכנור חידתי

## II.

למה אירא בימי-רע  
 עון עקבי יסובני  
 הבטחים עלי חילם  
 וברב עשרם יתהללו  
 אח לא-פרה יפרה-איש  
 לא-יתן לאלהים כפרו  
 ויקר פריון נפשם  
 וחדל לעולם

## III.

ויחי עוד לנצח  
 לא יראה השחת  
 כי-יראה חכמים ימותו  
 יחד-כסיל ובער יאבדו  
 ועזבו לאחרים חילם  
 קרבם בתימו לעולם  
 משכנתם לדור ודר  
 קראו בשמותם על-אדמות  
 { ואדם ביקר בל-ילין }  
 { נמשל כבהמות נדמו } Refrain.

## IV.

זה-דרכם כסל למו  
 ואחריהם בפיהם ירצו  
 כצאו לשאול שתו  
 מות-ירעם וצורם לבלות  
 שאול מזבל לו  
 וירדו-בם ישרים לבקר

אך-אלהים יפרה נפשי  
מִד שֶׁאֵיל כִּי־יִקְחֵנִי

V.

אֶל־תִּירָא כִּי־עֶשְׂרֵי אִישׁ  
כִּי־רִבָּה כְּבוֹד בֵּיתוֹ  
כִּי־לֹא בָמוֹתוֹ יִקְחֶה־כָּל  
לֹא־יִרְדֹּא אַחֲרָיו כְּבוֹדוֹ  
כִּי־נִפְשׁוּ בַחֲיָיו יִבְרַךְ  
וְיִוֹדֵךְ כִּי־תִשָּׁבֵב לָךְ  
תָּבוֹא עַד־דֹּר אֲבוֹתָיו  
עַד־נִצָּח לֹא־יִרְאוּ אוֹר

אִדָּם בִּיקֶר וְלֹא־יִבִּין } Refrain.  
נִמְשַׁל כְּבָה־מוֹת נִדְמו }

This Psalm is clearly divided into two parts by the refrain. The first part has an introductory strophe, and then two strophes that have in parallelism the two strophes of the second part. It is common not to distinguish these two strophes and to treat the poem as if it had an introductory strophe of eight lines, and then two long strophes, each with a refrain. But it is easy to divide the second part into two strophes of eight lines, and these correspond in length with the introductory strophe. There are but two difficulties. The former is the absence of the refrain. But this difficulty is met by the opinion that here, as elsewhere, the scribe has omitted the refrain from the intermediate strophes. The principal difficulty is in the connection between the first line of the third strophe and the last line of the second strophe. It is common so to connect them that there can be no break in the sense. We agree, however, with Hitzig and Graetz in the opinion that a new sentence begins with **וְיִהִי עוֹד**. Bickell attaches these two words to the previous line, so that it becomes **וְיִהִי עוֹד לְעוֹלָם וְיִהִי עוֹד** and the first line of the strophe begins with

לְנִצָּח לֹא־יִרְאֶה הַשַּׁחַת

It seems to me that **וְיִהִי עוֹד** is the usual congratulatory wish, such as we found in Ps. xxxii. 27, where, as here, the verb **אָמַר** is to be supplied. The clause

לֹא יִרְאֶה הַשַּׁחַת כִּי־יִרְאֶה

reminds us of Isaiah xxvi. 11, in its contrast,

בְּלִי יַחְזִיזוֹן יַחְזוּ וְיִבְשׁוּ

The last line of the strophe is four-toned with **עָלִי**; we may reduce it by writing **עַל־אֲרָמוֹת**. However, Bickell thinks the text is corrupt and makes two lines

יִשְׁכְּחוּ אִשֶּׁר קִרְאוּ  
בִשְׁמוֹתַם עָלַי אֲדָמוֹת

He is followed by Cheyne. In this way he gains the line that he loses above. It would suit our arrangement just as well. The second part is difficult in the third, fourth and fifth lines. These are variously arranged by critics. Hupfeld, Bickell, Cheyne, and others, transpose lines four and six. This is the easiest way of overcoming the difficulty.

6) We have an example of strophes of ten lines in the Penitential Psalm LI.

I.

חֲנֹנִי אֱלֹהִים כַּחֲסֹדֶךָ  
כִּרְב־רַחֲמֶיךָ מַחֲהַ פִּשְׁעֵי  
הָרַבָּה כִּבְסֹנִי מֵעוֹנֵי  
וּמִנִּי חֲטָאתִי טָהַרֵנִי  
כִּי־פִשְׁעֵי אָנֹכִי אֲדַע  
וְחֲטָאתִי נִגְדִי תִמְחֹד  
לֶךְ לְכֹדֶךָ חֲטָאתִי  
וְהִרְעֵ בְעֵינֶיךָ עֲשִׂיתִי  
לְמַעַן תִּצְדַּק בְּדִבְרֶךָ  
תֹּכֵחַ בִּשְׁפָטֶךָ

In this strophe we notice the constant recurrence of the ending in ' emphasizing in expression, as well as in the idea, the personal guilt of the Psalmist. In the ninth line we have an example of the attraction of בְּדִבְרֶךָ into an unusual grammatical form by the parallel בִּשְׁפָטֶךָ. The strophe ends with a dimeter, which is not uncommon. But there seems to be no good reason for a dimeter in line four. Therefore we separate the preposition from the noun and read וּמִנִּי the archaic form of the preposition.

II.

הֵן בְּעוֹן חוֹלַלְתִּי  
וּבְחַטָּא יַחֲמַתֵּנִי אֲמִי  
הֵן־אֲמַת חֲפֹצַת בְּטָחוֹת  
וּבִסְתֵּם חֲכָמָה תּוֹדִיעֵנִי  
תַּחֲטָאֵנִי בְּאִזּוֹב וְאִטְהַר  
תִּכְבַּסֵּנִי וּמִשְׁלַג אֲלֹבִין  
תִּשְׁמִיעֵנִי שִׁשּׁוֹן וְשִׁמְחָה  
תְּגַלְנָה עֲצָמוֹת דְּכִית  
הַסֵּתֶר פָּנָיו מִחַטָּא  
וְכָל עוֹנֹתַי מַחֲהַ

## III.

לב-טהר ברא-לי אלהים  
 ורוח-נכון חדש בקרבי  
 אל תשליכני מלפניך  
 ורוח-קדשך אל-תקח ממני  
 חשיבה-לי ששון ישעך  
 ורוח נדיבה תסמכני  
 אלמדה פשעים ררכיך  
 וחטאים אליך ישובו  
 הצילני מדמים אלהי-תשועתי  
 תרנן לשוני צדקתך

The second strophe is entirely plain. There is but one difficulty in the second strophe: **אלהים** makes the ninth line too long. It has been inserted by a later writer, probably from dittography.

## IV.

ארני שפתי תפתח  
 ופי יגיד תהלתך  
 כי לא-תחפץ זבח  
 ואתנה עולה לא-תרצה  
 זבחי אלהים רוח-נשברה  
 לב-נשבר ונדכה לא-תבזה  
 היטיבה ברצונך את-ציון  
 תבנה חומות ירושלם  
 אז-תחפץ זבח-צדק וכליל  
 אז-יעלו על-מזבחך פרים

This strophe has several difficulties in the Massoretic text. The rhythm is better if we attach **ואתנה** to the fourth line. The sixth line is too long if the divine name **אלהים** is retained. It is unnecessary. The poet would not have so lengthened his line without cause. The ninth line seems to have been enlarged by inserting **עולה** to explain the unusual **כליל** and make it correspond with line four. It is held by some that the last four lines are a later liturgical addition. But they are necessary to complete the strophe and are in entire accord with the rest of it. This theory of a later liturgical addition will not save the traditional theory expressed in the title that the Psalm is Davidic. Its doctrine is exilic, and the conclusion of the Psalm is in accordance with its historical situation.

7) Fine specimens of the strophes of twelve lines are given in that group of Psalms xcv.-c. We shall give the one strophe of Psalm c.

הריעו ליהוה כל-הארץ  
עברו את-יהוה בשמחה  
באו לפניו ברננה  
רעו כי-יהוה הוא אלהים  
הוא עשנו ולו אנחנו  
עמו וצאן מרעיתו  
באו שעריו בתורה  
באו חצרתיו בתהלה  
הודו-לו ברכו שמו  
כי-טוב יהוה  
לעולם חסדו  
ועד-דור ודור אמונתו

The eighth line is a dimeter, the verb **באו** should be inserted to make it a trimeter. There is no good reason for a dimeter line here. It would be natural for a scribe to omit the second **באו** which he would think unnecessary to the sense. The tenth and eleventh lines are dimeters in order to metrical pauses at the close of the lines, in order that the trimeter might close the piece with the more vigor.

8) There are many Hebrew trimeters that have strophes of fourteen lines. We shall give as an example four strophes from the great poem of the origin and early fortunes of our race preserved in the narratives of the Jehovist in the earlier chapters of Genesis. The story of Cain and Abel is given in four strophes :

## I.

והאדם ידע אשתו  
ותהר ותלד את-קין  
ותאמר קניתי את-יהוה  
ותספ ללדת את אחיו  
ותקרא שמו את הבל  
ויהי הבל רעה-צאן  
וקין-היה עבד אדמה  
ויהי מקץ ימים  
ויבא קין ליהוה  
מפרי האדמה מנחה

והבל הביא גס-הוא  
מבכרות צאנו ומחלבהן  
וישע אל-הבל ואל-מנחתו  
ואל-קין ואל-מנחתו לא-שעה

The poem has been modified here and there by the Jehovist and the final redactor of the Pentateuch. But it is easy to trace his work and restore the poem to its original form. In the first line the editor has inserted the name **את חוה** as he did in the poem in the previous chapter. In the third line he has inserted **איש** in order, if possible, to prevent our taking **את יהוה** as the object of the verb. The style of this poem is to give the names of the children. Accordingly we insert the usual phrase **ותקרא שמו** in the fifth line. The poetic order requires us to transfer **ליהוה** from the end of the verse to the end of the previous line after **קין** in the ninth line. The editor has inserted **יהוה** in the thirteenth line. The parallelisms and the steady flow of the rhythm is manifest in the poem as we have given it above.

## II.

ויחר לקין מאד  
ויפלו פניו  
ויאמר יהוה אל-קין  
למה חרה לי  
ולמה נפלו פניו  
הלא אס-תטיב שאת  
ואם לא תיטיב  
לפתח חטאת רבץ  
ואליך תשוקתו  
ואתה תשמלו בו  
ויאמר קין אל-הבל  
נלכה אלי השרה  
ויהי בהיותם בשרה  
ויקם-קין אל-הבל ויהרגהו

There are but few editorial changes here. The LXX. and Samaritan codex and most critics justify the insertion of the twelfth line **נלכה אלי השרה**. The editor has inserted **אחי** in the last line to bring out more distinctly the idea of fratricide. There are two dimeters that seem to be designed, namely, in lines two and nine.

## III.

ויאמר יהוה אל-קין  
 אי הבל אחיך  
 ויאמר לא ידעתי  
 השמר אחי אנכי  
 ויאמר מה עשית  
 קול דמי אחיך  
 צעקים אלי מן-האדמה  
 ועתה ארור אתה  
 גרשתיך מן האדמה  
 אשר פצתה את-פיה  
 לקחת את-דמי-אחיך מידך  
 כי תעבד את-האדמה  
 לא-תסת תת-כחה לך  
 נע-ונר תהיה בארץ

The only editorial change in this strophe is the omission of גרשתיך in the ninth line. The use of it in the next strophe, line three, seems to require it here also.

## IV.

ויאמר קין אל-יהוה  
 גדול עוני מנשוא  
 הן-גרשת אתי היום  
 מעל פני האדמה  
 ומני פניך אסתר  
 והייתי נע-ונר בארץ  
 והיה כל-מצאי יהרגני  
 ויאמר לו יהוה  
 לכן כל-הרג קין  
 שבתים יקם  
 וישם לקין אות  
 לבלתי הכות אותו  
 ויצא מלפני יהוה  
 וישב בארץ נוד

In the fifth line it seems necessary to separate the preposition from the noun and write the archaic form מני. There is no reason for a dimeter here. The



tenth line is a natural dimeter. In the eleventh line it is better to strike out יהוה and in the thirteenth line קין as prosaic addition. It is not necessary to do this, because they may be combined with the verbs by Maqqeph, but it seems better to do so.

Thus, with a very few easy modifications that have been caused by editorial work, where the poetical character of the piece was lost sight of, the original poem stands before us with all its original beauty and power.

We have given a sufficient number of examples to illustrate the strophical organization of the trimeter poems. There are strophes of longer lines in the Psalter and the prophets, and in the historical books. The song of Moses, Deut. xxxii., is composed of three parts, and the scheme of the strophes in these parts is 12, 10, 10, 15, | 12, 10, 10, 10, | 10, 12, 15, 10, with a refrain of four lines. Proverbs viii.-ix. have the scheme 10, 12, 10, 10, | 10, 12, 10, | 12, 12, 12. Job. iii. has the scheme 20, 18, 14; Job. xxxi. has the scheme 8, 9, 8, 6, 6, 10, 10, 8, 12, 6. Job. xxxviii.-ix. has the scheme 8, 8, 8, | 6, 6, 6, 6, | 6, 6, 4, 6, | 7, 8, 8, | 8, 12, | 15, 10.

Psalm xlv. gives us an example of a bridal song in which the first strophe is six lines with its refrain, the second twelve lines with its refrain, and the third, twenty-four lines with its refrain.

Psalm lxxx. gives us two strophes of eight lines, the third strophe of sixteen lines, and the fourth strophe of eight lines. The third strophe has been doubled to embrace the allegory of the vine, and has a double refrain on that account.

We shall conclude with a specimen of responsive trimeters—Psalm xxiv. 1-6.

#### CHORUS.

ליהוה הארץ ומלואה  
תבל וישבי בה  
כי-הוא על-ימים יסרה  
ועל נהרות יכוננה

#### QUESTION.

מ-יעלה בהר יהוה  
ומי-יקום במקום קדשו

#### RESPONSE.

נקי כפים ובר-לבב  
לא-נשא לשוא נפשו  
ולא נשבע למרמה

יִשָּׂא בִּרְכָה מֵאֵת-יְהוָה  
וְצִדְקָה מֵאֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

CHORUS.

זֶה דֹּר דְּרִשְׁיוֹ  
מִבְקֶשֶׁי פִּנְיָךְ יְעֻקֵּב

The **אִשָּׁר** should be stricken out in second line of the response. Another specimen of such songs is found in xxiv. 7-10. See also Hosea xiv., Isaiah lxiii. 1-6, and Psalm xx.

These examples will be sufficient to illustrate the great variety of strophical organization that we find in Hebrew trimeter poems. In our next article we shall give some specimens of tetrameter poems.

# INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR, VARIANTS OF AN UNPUBLISHED DUPLICATE OF THE NEW YORK CYLINDER.

BY J. F. X. O'CONOR, S. J.,

Woodstock College, Md.

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Through the kindness of the assistant of the British Museum and of my learned confrère, J. N. Strassmaier, I have been enabled to secure for the readers of the New York inscription, the text of an unpublished duplicate of this cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, which was brought to light by the publication of the New York original in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The value of the first text as published, becomes enhanced by this corroboration of its general accuracy, though differing in some minor points, especially where the original was partly indistinct. This new copy of the text, besides confirming the substantial correctness of the first translation, supplies us with a number of variants that will be of interest and value, to the students of the first text who wish to become familiar with this peculiarity of the Babylonian scribes.

The first publication supplied three styles of writing, which give a useful table for the study of variations between Assyrian and early and late Babylonian characters. The present notes indicate in one inscription several instances of variants in the Babylonian text itself. The text of this new cylinder of the British Museum, is the same as that published in my pamphlet, in January, 1885, but the division of lines is quite different, as well as many of the characters, as will be seen from the accompanying plate, and the following parallelism. In both cylinders there are the same number of lines, one hundred. In the duplicate of the British Museum, column I. continues as far as line 35 inclusive; in the New York cylinder, column I. continues as far as line 28, a difference of eight lines. Column II. in each ends at line 70. On the British Museum cylinder, lines 47 and 48 are represented by one line. It is the reverse for lines 76, 77. These two lines of the British Museum cylinder are represented by one line on the New York cylinder. Lines 92, 93, and lines 97, 98 are also represented by one line on the cylinder of New York.

## DIVISION OF LINES

BRITISH MUSEUM (unpublished).

NEW YORK CYLINDER (O'Connor).

## Col. I.

## Col. II.

Line 29 is seven lines from the beginning of Column II.

Line 29 is precisely the beginning of Column II.

30. a-na ma-na-ma

30. a-na ma-na-ma šarri ma-aḥ-ri-im

31. šarru ma-aḥ-ri-im

31. la im-gu-ur-ma

## Col. II.

36. a-na e-bi-eš eš-ri-e-ti

36. a-na e-bi-eš eš-ri-e-ti

37. li-ib-bu-am

37. li-ib-ba

38. ti-is-mu-ur-ma

38. u-ga-ru am-ša-as-si (?)

39. i-na ši-ga-ti

39. aš-ši ga-ti . . .

40. u-sa-ap-pa ša-aš-ši

40. u-sa-ap-pa ša-aš-ši (?)

44. ni-iš ga-ti-ia

44. ni-iš ga-ti-ia im-ḥu-ur-ma

45. im-ḥu-ur-ma

47. } one line.

47. e-bi-eš biti ša il Šamaš

48. }

48. il Šamaš il Ramanu u il Marduk

## Col. III.

## Col. III.

71. li-bi-it ga-ti-ia šu-ku-nu

71. li-bi-it ga-ti-ia šu-ul-bi-ir

75. i-na ki-bi-ti-ka

75. i-na ki-bi-ti-ka ki-it-ti

76. ki-it-ti lu-uš-ba-a

76. lu-uš-ba' li-it-tu-ti

77. li-it-tu-ti

78. ba-la-tam u-ûm ru-ku-ti

77. ba-la-tam ana ûm ru-ku-ti

79. ku-un kussî

78. ku-un kussî lu-si-ri-ik-tu-um-ma

80. lu-ši-ri-ik-tu-um-ma ri-'u-a

79. li-ri-ku li-iš-ša-li-bu

81. a-na da-er-a-ti

80. ri-'u-u a-na da-ra-a-ti

92. i-ša-ri-iš

92. i-ša-ri-is a-pa-la-an-ni

93. a-pa-la-an-ni

.....

94. i-na a-ma-ti-ka

93. ina a-ma-ti-ka

95. el-li-ti

94. ša-li-mu

96. šu la šu-pi-e-su

95. ša la (ma bi-e-ri) uttakaru

97. lu-ti-bu-u

97. lu-ti-bu-u lu-za-aḥ-tu

98. lu-za-ak-tu

98.

For the rest the division of lines is the same.

## OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

The name of Nebuchadnezzar has been handed down to us, not only in the Sacred Writings, and in early profane history, but especially and with peculiar interest in the cuneiform inscriptions.

The records of this king, however, confine themselves, for the most part, to descriptions of edifices erected or restored by him; and not one document has yet been brought to light which may be termed strictly historical; none that recount his military expeditions or conquests, as we find so abundantly with regard to the Assyrian Kings Tiglath-pileser, Sennacherib and Assurbanipal. It may be that future excavations will reveal such a monument, but up to the present, there has been a remarkable contrast in this regard between the Babylonian and Assyrian documents.

Those who have been interested, hitherto, in one or other of these texts, will be pleased, no doubt, with an enumeration, complete, as far as known, of the previously published texts.

The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar already edited, independently of recent ones, are thirteen in number. They are familiar to many readers of Assyrian, not so to others. They vary in length and importance from the seal of the king, bearing simply his title, to the standard inscription including over six hundred lines. This last is usually known as the East India House Inscription. It was published in I R., and has been translated and commented upon by various authors.<sup>1</sup>

In recording the inscriptions we begin with the smallest.

No. I.—This is a seal containing the profile of the king, with the inscription, “Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, to Merodach, his Lord; he made it for his own life.” This cameo is preserved in the Berlin Museum. It was published by Schenkel in his *Bibel-lexicon*, and in the monthly journal of the Academy of Science, Berlin.

II.—Among the inscriptions found by Smith in Babylon, one is inscribed on the pupil of the eye of a statue of the god Nebo,<sup>2</sup> “To the God Nebo, his Lord, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, for his preservation he made.”

III.—Three contract tablets, discovered by Smith, bearing the date of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar:

1) City of Babylon, month of Tammuz, 15th day, 20th year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.

2) City of Babylon, month of Iyyar, 21st day, 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.

<sup>1</sup> See Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, Rawlinson, Schrader, Menant, Lenormant, Budge, Fleming, Brunengo, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 385.

3) City of Babylon, month of Kisleu, 8th day, 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.

These are of special interest on account of the dates.

IV.—Numberless bricks with the inscription "I am Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, restorer of the Temple of Saggil and the temple of Zida, oldest son of Nabopolassar, am I"—(Menant, Schrader).

V.—The epigraphs of Larsam (Senkereh), and Mugheir (Ur), which, in addition to the preceding inscription, add that this king restored the temple of the Sun at Larsam, and of the Moon at Ur.

VI.—On the side of a brick was found a record of the palace of the great king. This inscription begins like No. iv, and continues thus: "I built a palace for the sojourn of my majesty in the city of Babylon, situated in the land of Babylon. And I dug foundations to a great depth, below the water of the river, and wrote there the record on cylinders, covered with bitumen and brick. With thy aid, I, Merodach, God of the gods, I built this palace in the heart of Babylon. Come and dwell there, multiply its progeny, and make the people of Babylon, by my hand, victorious forever." On the gate of one of the palaces of Babylon is the short inscription, "Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, restorer of the temple Saggil and Zida, constant in the adoration of Nebo and Merodach, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon."

VII.—Among the ampler inscriptions is that of the temple of Zarpanit (My-litta) of which there are four copies, two in the Berlin Museum and two in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, I.—

"I founded, I built the august temple, the temple of Zarpanit in the midst of Babylon, in honor of Zarpanit, the august sovereign, within the limits of Babylon. I had built of brick and bitumen a square sanctuary. I dug the arches of its niches in the depth of the earth.

"O Sovereign of the gods, august mother, be propitious to me, my work is perfected with thy assistance. Favor the increase of families, watch over the mothers at the time of bringing forth, thou who presidest over the birth of children."¹

VIII.—Similar in style, but longer, is the inscription of Senkereh or Larsam. After the usual titles and salutations to the god, the king recounts his building the temple of the Sun in the City of Larsa.

It ends with the invocation, "O Sun, great God, bless thy offering in its beginning and end, the temple of the Sun, the glorious work of my hands. By thy help, give me a happy life for long years, the permanency of my throne, and the victory of my arms. May the arches, porticoes, the columns of the temple of the Sun, my glorious works, make perpetual remembrance of me in thy sight."

¹ Menant, *Babylon and Chaldea*, p. 215.

IX.—As at Larsam, so at Sippara (Abu Habba), there was a temple of the Sun, Eparra, which had fallen to ruin. This Nebuchadnezzar restored, and left a record of it on the recently discovered cylinder, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It has been named the New York cylinder, in contradistinction to the cylinder of Senkereh, and to the duplicate of the same text in the British Museum. The variants of the British Museum duplicate cylinder are given in the plate in parallel lines with the New York original.

X.—Among inscriptions of greater length is the famous inscription of Bor sippa, where Nebuchadnezzar built the great temple Bît Zida to Nebo.

XI.—Next in order comes a cylinder of the British Museum, in two columns of thirty lines each. It describes the defences of Babylon (Menant, *Babylon et la chaldée*).

XII.—The cylinder of Sir Thomas Phillips, similar to the preceding, with the additional enumeration of the building and restoration of temples in other Chaldean cities, at Cutlia, Sippara, Larsam, Ur, Nipur, Uruk, in honor of Nergal, Šamaš, Sin, Anu and Ištar.

This inscription of 170 lines is in three columns, in the cursive cuneiform. It was published first by Grotefend, in 1848, and then by Sir Henry Rawlinson in I R., 65-66. This, with the exception of the following, is the largest of the inscriptions.

XIII.—This, perhaps the best known of the inscriptions, has been named the Standard Inscription. It is inscribed on a block of black basalt, one meter high, ten centimeters wide. It includes ten columns with 619 lines of writing in archaic characters. For a long time it remained in the museum of the East India Company, and hence it is sometimes called the East India Inscription. Sir John Hartfoot was the first to translate it, and later it was published with modern transcription by Sir Henry Rawlinson in the I R., 56-64. Oppert read the entire translation to the Academy of Rhiems, Nov. 3, 1865. A complete version was given by Menant, and subsequently by Lenormant, Rawlinson, and in 1883, a transcription with translation and commentary was published by Flemming.

This list includes the earlier published inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar. The number of cuneiform cylinders is not large; but the vast multitude of contract tablets of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, Neriglissar, Cambyses, Cyrus and Darius, not yet translated, but pregnant with knowledge of those times, leave a useful task for the lover of Assyrian.








The writer acknowledges the generous welcome extended by the Assyriologists of America and Europe to the first translation and publication in America of a Babylonian original.

New York Cylinder (O'Connor)

1 Wabā-ku-du 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
3 Ga-aš-ru ša-aš-tu  
13 ū. bit xi- 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
16 Ša Wabū-aplu-u- 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
16 Šaru 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 a-na-ku  
23 u ud- di-u-šš e-ri-e-ti-šu  
23 Šu-ma si-ra-am  
27 Ša u-ul-la-mu-a  
28 e-mu-u  
31 la im-gu-u-ma  
33 a-ši  
34 e-im-ku mu-ut- 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
36 a-na e-bi-e 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
37 li-ib-ba  
38 aš-ši  
39 aš-si. ga-ti  
40 u-ša-ap-ja ša-aš-ši  
42 u-un ana muu ēu-un-ma  
45 iš-ša-a su-ji-e-a  
46 same as l. 47.  
47 ip-u-us-ma  
52 an-mu xi-i-mu  
57 ša ša-me-e u ir-si(t) 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
61 pu-u-us 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 xi-it-ti  
63 bit- 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
64 ša xi-ri-ib 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
69 a-na bit Šara bit-ke 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
70 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 i-na e-ri-bi-ja  
71 li-bi-it ga-ti-ia 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
72 xi-mi-iš na-ap-li-is-ma  
76 lu-uš-ba- li-ib-tu-ti  
77 ba-la 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
78 su-un xussi li-širi-ix-tu 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 ma  
79 li-i-šu li-iš 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 li-bu  
80 ri-u a-na 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
84 mu-ša-li-im 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣

86 lu-i-ba 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 šar-u-ti-ia  
89 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 mu-ma-ni-a  
91 ma di-i-mu u bi 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
94 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
95 ša-la 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣  
100 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣

British Museum (unpublished)

1. Vabû-mu-dur-  
2.        





## JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

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### III.

Is it altogether an accident that, as a general thing, we know very little, frequently nothing, about the lives of great men? It cannot be said that this applies only to such as lived in very remote times; for many instances in quite modern periods may be cited,—Shakspeare being perhaps the most prominent,—of eminent men, even such as had gained renown during their life-time, concerning whom we are in profound ignorance. Besides, hero-worship was surely as strong in antiquity as to-day, if not indeed, as there is every reason to suppose, stronger; and people no doubt observed eagerly the doings and noted the sayings of those whom they regarded with awe and reverence, or even looked upon as superior beings. Eminent minds in all probability were in every age surrounded by Boswells and Eckermans, who watched the object of their worship. “Wie er räuspert und wie er spuckt.” And while they may not have committed their observations to writing on stone, clay, wax, papyrus or parchment, still there was oral tradition; and it is yet a question whether memory, untrustworthy as it is in transmitting *exact* knowledge, is not as capable of ensuring *permanence* to events as the stylus, pencil, quill, or even printing-press. We to this day remember what we are told better and much longer than what we read; and how much more so was this the case at a time when the average memory was so much stronger because so much more needed. A more satisfactory explanation of this rather curious phenomenon that we know so little about those who are best known seems to be that the personalities of great men are overshadowed by their achievements; the man is lost in the hero, the father in the scholar, the neighbor in the writer. But however this may be, the fact remains that, of some of the greatest productions of the human mind, not even the authors are known. Almost all of the Old Testament is anonymous; for the fanciful and crude conjectures of a later age in parceling out the authorship of the various books among certain personages are rejected to-day by most critics as utterly without foundation and incongruous. Of the writer of the Iliad nothing is known, and by many the very personage of Homer is regarded as mythical. Who wrote the Vedas? the Zend-avesta? the Nibelungen? The fact that the question has been asked “Who wrote Shakspeare?” must at all events be taken as an evidence of uncertain and defective knowledge concerning him.

Saadia ben Joseph, or as he is more commonly known, Saadia Gaon, by virtue of his position as head of the Rabbinical Academy at Sura, a man who left an indelible impress upon his age, forms no exception to the rule. We know but very few of the facts of his life. He was born in Fayum; but the exact year of his birth has not been ascertained. The date ordinarily assumed, 942, can scarcely be correct, and it is safer to place it between 870 and 875. More than half of his life he spent in his native place, though it is not known in what capacity. His energetic opposition to Karaism brought him into prominence and secured for him the honor of being chosen head of the school in Sura. This was in the year 928. A controversy with the "Resh Galutha" (Prince of the Exile) the highest dignitary of the Babylonian Jews, cost him his position, and he retired into private life for a period of about five years. He utilized his seclusion by writing the work on which his chief claim to immortal fame rests, the "*Kitab al-Amânât w'al-Itikâdât*," i. e., *Book of Faith and Knowledge*, or as we might say in modern phraseology, *Religion and Science*, which, as its title shows, is a treatise of religious philosophy. It is the first attempt, as far as we know, at harmonizing the faith of Judaism with reason. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the work, the fact itself that such a book was written is significant for the period in which Saadia Gaon lived. Necessity, no doubt, called it forth; and its appearance is a signal proof of the mental activity of the times. While upholding Rabbinism in all its essential particulars, Saadia's treatise is characterized by a spirit of free inquiry. He is as violent against those who shun the light of reason from being shed on religion as against those who reject rabbinical tradition. His philosophy is naturally quite crude, his reasoning anything but deep, and at times very shallow, his arguments frequently childish; but no one can fail to be impressed with his broad spirit and his great sincerity. The book is of course written with a purpose,—namely, to crush Karaism; and while it did not accomplish this, there can be no doubt that Saadia was instrumental in checking the progress of Karaism, which at one time threatened to assume large dimensions. The rebellious spirit against the tyrannical sway of Talmudical authority was abroad, and the new movement had a most important result in bringing about a reconstruction of the old party. This was due, in a great measure, to Saadia, who fought his opponents with their own weapons and met them on their own territory. Opposition to Karaism was no doubt a prominent factor also in his numerous grammatical and exegetical works. Unfortunately almost all of the former and most of the latter have become lost; and it is only through numerous quotations in later writers that we learn the nature of their contents. The great fertility of his mind is best seen by the large list of his publications, as follows:—

1. *Kitâb al-lugât* (*Book of Speech*).
2. *Kitâb al-Daghesh w'al-Rafê* (*Book of Daghes and Rafê*).
3. A treatise on the Vowel and Massoretic Points.

4. On the Gutturals.

5. Sefer Sachoth (Book of Elegance), no doubt of a grammatical character.

6. Tafsir el-Sabîna lufsât el-farâd, i. e., Explanation of seventy *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* in the Old Testament.

7. Sefer Hâ-Igarôn (Book of Gathering), probably a collection of difficult words occurring in the Old Testament.

Besides these, there is to be mentioned his famous translation of large parts of the Bible into Arabic, accompanied by copious commentaries. Some scholars are, indeed, of the opinion that Saadia made a complete translation of the Bible. But there is no positive evidence for the fact. It is probable that such was his intention, but that he did not live long enough to carry it out. The parts extant comprise the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Psalms, Proverbs and Job. Owing to the loss of his grammatical works, it is rather difficult to form an accurate picture of his method, and we are left to reconstruct it chiefly from the general traits of his commentaries on the biblical books, and secondly, as already intimated, from quotations in such writers as Menachem ben Saruk, Donash ben Librat, Ibn Ġanach, Ibn Ezra, Rashi and Kamchi. There is one feature which deserves special mention. He did not confine himself, in his explanation of the Bible, to the Hebrew of the Bible, but frequently sought the aid of the language of the Mishna and the Gemara, besides—and not rarely—the Arabic. In his little treatise on the seventy words occurring but once in the Old Testament, this trait is especially noticeable. More than half of these *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* are brought into connection with some words of the Gemara.

From the high terms in which he is invariably spoken of when quoted, it is clear that he must have stood in high repute even when many of his views and much of his method had become antiquated. A grammarian of the generation following upon Saadia consecrated an entire treatise to a review of Saadia's commentaries and grammatical treatises, in which, while exposing a large number of errors, he nevertheless speaks in terms of the highest respect for his important achievements.

The great defect in Saadia's grammatical method consists in his ignorance of the functions and peculiarities of the so-called vowel-letters, Waw, Yodh, He, when present in stems. Here he is all at sea; and while Donash corrects many of his errors, he, as little as Saadia, is able to bring about a systematic presentation of the subject. It will be shown later on how, by a single stroke, Abu Zakarija Hajjuġ put an end to the confusion prevailing with regard to the so-called weak stems. Saadia is thus led to make some very childish mistakes. In the passage Exod. ii. 5, he takes the word **אַמְתָּה** as "her elbow," instead of "her maid," confounding **אַמָּה** with **אַמָּה**. The stem of **מִשְׁתָּאָה** (Gen. xxiv. 21) he supposes to be **שָׁתָה**, and renders, accordingly, "demand a draught." His weakness is also apparent in a neglect of nice distinctions. So

in Num. xxiv. 6, he takes אֶהְיֶה as though identical with אֶהְיֶה. Again, מֵאִירוֹת (Isa. xxvii. 11) he derives from אִירוֹ, instead of אִיר; again, נֶעְתָּם (Isa. ix. 18) from נִיעַ, instead of עֵתָם. He stumbles over the difficult אִרְדָּה (Isa. xxxviii. 15) in regarding it as a derivative from נִרְדַּךְ. But for all that, Saadia shows himself far superior to his cotemporary, Jehuda Ibn Koreish. He is no longer satisfied with merely guessing and conjecturing, but attempts to frame his investigations within a system. He has already very clear ideas of the distinction between the letters that form the stem and those that merely serve the purposes of modifying the same. The mere titles of his grammatical treatises show that he proceeded systematically, and had already divided the subject of Hebrew grammar into certain divisions.

But even more than his purely grammatical works, did his translation of the Bible, with commentaries, contribute towards arousing a great interest in grammatical studies among the Rabbinites. The next generation already boasts of a large number who devote themselves, almost to the exclusion of the Talmud, to Hebrew grammar; and what is more remarkable still, different *schools* soon make their appearance. With Saadia, the revival of the study of the Bible among the Jews may be said to have fully begun.

## NOTES ON מְבוּל, נְפִילִים, ETC.

BY REV. PROF. T. K. CHEYNE, D. D.,

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1. Ps. xxix. 10, מְבוּל. Gen. vi. 4; Num. xiii. 33, נְפִילִים.

There are five possible renderings of Ps. xxix. 10:

(a) Yahwe sat at the Flood, and Yahwe sitteth on as a king forever; i. e. (as Driver expresses it, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 79), "from that moment went on and continues sitting" (to account for the Imperfect with strong Waw).

(b) Yahwe sat (enthroned) at the flood; therefore [consequently] Yahwe sitteth as king forever; i. e., the fact that Yahwe controlled the flood, produced by rain-storm and swollen torrents, increases the Psalmist's faith in the general truth of His government of the world.

(c) Yahwe sat (enthroned) for the flood (to produce the storm-flood), etc. Cf. ix. 8, "Yahwe shall be seated forever; he hath prepared his throne *for judgment*."

(d) Yahwe sat (enthroned) on the flood, and Yahwe sitteth on as king forever (i. e., continueth his royal rule from the time when he erected his throne on the created heavenly ocean. These waters above the firmament were already referred to in verse 3 (cf. Gen. i. 6, 7; Am. ix. 6; Ps. civ. 3). For the construction cf. יֹשְׁבֵת לְכֶסֶּא, ix. 5.

As to (a), an abrupt reference to the Deluge, in this fine descriptive poem, seems improbable. Remember too that this is the only place where מְבוּל occurs outside the Book of Genesis, and that Noah himself is very rarely mentioned except in that book (see Isa. liv. 9; Ezek. xiv. 14). Until, therefore, some very cogent reason shall be given for the capital letter in the Revised Version's "Flood," I ask leave to reject it. Against (b) and (c) it may be urged that no mention of a rain-storm occurs in the foregoing description. One may be surprised at this. It is otherwise in the fine description of a storm in the Mu'allaga of Imra-al-Kais (see Lyall's translation, *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 103), which in other points is strikingly parallel to the Hebrew poem. But one can neither venture to suppose that a stanza has dropped out of the latter, nor yet that there is an abrupt reference to a phenomenon which the description has ignored. Against (d) is the preposition, which does not harmonize with the construction in verse 3; besides, the construction seems too condensed ("sitteth on the flood" = "sitteth in his upper chambers, which are on the flood"), and it is too bold an assumption that מְבוּל = מַיִם, simply on the ground of Gen. vi. 6, וְהַמְּבוּל הָיָה מַיִם עַל-הָאָרֶץ.

I venture to propose a fifth explanation, viz., that מְבוּל means not "flood," but "destruction," and so "destructive storm." I accept Friedrich Delitzsch's

view,<sup>1</sup> that מְבוֹל is connected with Assyrian nabālu to destroy, from which comes nabalu, nabal destruction or wasting (Esarhaddon, *Annals*, col. 2, 26, milic nabali a journey of desert-land<sup>2</sup>). I would also ask if nabbāltu, rendered by Delitzsch "the wasting storm-flood," would not be more precisely rendered without "flood." Our passage may, then, it would seem, be translated,—

In the wasting storm Yahwe sat enthroned;  
Therefore (āpa) Yahwe sitteth as king forever.

I make no reference to Arabic wablun and wa'bilun heavy rain (cf. *Kuran*, Sura II. 266, 267, and *Hamasa*, p. 611, with Freytag's note), as these must be connected with another root.

It remains to account for the enigmatical הַנְּפִילִים. Dillmann (on Gen. vi. 4) inclines to Tuch's view, who renders הַנְּפִילִים "the heroes," strictly "the extraordinary ones," connecting with the root פִּלָּה, פִּלָּא, to which נָפַל stands in the same relation as נָבַל to בָּלָה. So too Lenormant, *Les origines*, vol. I., ed. 1, p. 344; Schrader, KAT., ed. 2, p. 99. The former gives evidence for the fact that Assyr. naplu is equivalent to the Akkadian ušu-gal unique in greatness, but not for the existence of an Assyrian root palâ. Schrader, therefore, in a supplementary note (KAT., p. 609), points out that Lenormant's naplu must be the same as nablū destruction (epithet of Tiglath-pileser). I see that the late Edward Norris, in his *Assyrian Dictionary*, quotes naplu; but obviously he might just as well have transcribed nablū (see Sayce, *Syllabary*, 168); so that we cannot say that there were two forms of the root in Assyrian. Still there may have been in early Hebrew; נָפַל and נָבַל would co-exist, like פֹּרַח and כּוֹרֶחַ, if, that is, we think it necessary to assume that מְבוֹל and הַנְּפִילִים ever had a living connection with Hebrew at all, and were not simply loan-words, derived at different times, and perhaps by different channels, from Assyrian tradition. At any rate, it seems to me but little less probable that הַנְּפִילִים means the "destruction" than that מְבוֹל signifies "destructive storm."

2. Eccles. xii. 1. In *Job and Solomon* (London, 1886), pp. 225, 226, 300, I have ventured, with unfeigned reluctance, to abandon the reading which both Authorized Version and Revised Version translate "Remember thy Creator" (Professor Briggs, "thy great Creator"). Besides Prov. v. 15-18, I might have adduced a passage from the Mu'allāqa of Zuhair, rendered thus by Mr. Lyall,—

Who holds not his foe away from his cistern with sword and spear,  
It is broken and spoiled, etc.

Mr. Lyall adds, "The cistern is a man's home and family and whatever he holds dear." Some readers might perhaps have been conciliated had I adopted Mr. Lyall's wider interpretation of the "cistern." The purity and beauty of Jewish family life is well known, and the figure in an oriental poem most appropriate.

<sup>1</sup> *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 156. Cf. Haupt, in Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, ed. 2, p. 66, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Budge, *History of Esarhaddon*, p. 59.

# SOME CORRECTIONS TO THE TEXTS OF CYLINDERS A AND B OF THE ESARHADDON INSCRIPTIONS AS PUBLISHED IN I R., 45-47, AND III R., 15, 16.

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The inscriptions of Esarhaddon were first published in Layard's *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments*, 1851. Cylinder A is given on pages 20-29 under the title "On an Hexagonal Cylinder," and B on pages 54-58 under the title "On lower half of an Hexagonal Object of Baked Clay." The text of this edition is of no value for critical study. It is, however, as good as could have been expected at that time. The text of A appeared later in I R., 45-47. This edition is vastly superior to that of Layard, and can, in general, be depended on. Cylinder B appeared again in III R., 15, 16, edited by George Smith. This edition is not as trustworthy as that of A in I R., on account of the extremely bad condition of the original of B. The texts of A and portions of B, with transliteration and translation, were published for the last time by Ernest A. Budge, in his *History of Esarhaddon*, London, 1880. Budge's edition of these texts is untrustworthy. As it appeared as late as 1880, and "after a careful (?) collation of all the principal texts," it has been received by many as an authority. One need only compare it with the originals to see that this is not the case. Cf. Delitzsch's review in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, May 21, 1881. Paul Haupt, on the other hand (*vid.* HEBRAICA, I., p. 229), says: "Since Mr. Budge's laborious work has been censured beyond measure, I take pleasure in being able to state that I consider *The History of Esarhaddon* fully as good as George Smith's *History of Assurbanipal* and the *History of Sennacherib* by the same scholar." Even if this were true, one must take into consideration that Smith's *Assurbanipal* was published in 1871, and Budge's *Esarhaddon* in 1880. Haupt's comparison, however, is unjust to Smith and does little credit to Budge's book.

In the summer of 1885, while studying in the British Museum, I collated A and B, and copied C.<sup>1</sup> This collation forms the basis of the corrections which I have to offer to the texts as published by Rawlinson, Smith, and Budge.

In conclusion, I wish to express my indebtedness to Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, both for his kindness in helping me while at work in the Museum, and especially for the collations of several difficult passages contained in a letter of Jan. 24, '87. I am also under very many obligations to my highly honored teacher, Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, for the assistance which he has rendered me.

<sup>1</sup> The text of Cylinder C (heretofore unpublished), as copied by me from the original in the British Museum, will be printed from photo-engraved plates in the July number of HEBRAICA.












































B.V., 7. The first part of this line is broken. Pinches (letter of Jan. 24<sup>th</sup>/87) reads:  (or )        *nuši mātāti hubut kašti-ia.*"

B.V., 8. Read  al-lu instead of  al-lu (so Pinches also).

B.V., 8. Read  šik-kū instead of  šik-kū

B.V., 10. Read  tim-ma (so Pinches also).

B.V., 11. This line as published in III. R. is full of mistakes.

Read               



## →CONTRIBUTED NOTES←

**Neubauer's Etymologies.**—It is a cause for regret that men of large scholarship and profound thought will, at times, lend themselves to the promulgation of ideas, built upon airy bases, the utter weakness of which their own knowledge should be the means of discovering. What applies to this class of men may also hold good when referring to those who employ Procrustean methods in the interpretation of the Bible, whether in a religious, historical, or geographical sense, to suit certain original views of their own—so original that, if advanced by the untutored, or the novice, they would excite derision.

I was recently perusing a short article by Dr. Adolph Neubauer, of Oxford, published in the London *Notes and Queries*, of January 29, 1887. Therein I found statements which (though I bow with respect to the man whose literary attainments have earned for him a deservedly wide reputation) forced a smile, that soon changed to a feeling not at all akin to humor. That so eminent a Hebraist should assert that "Jeremiah, as it is known, came over to Ireland, married an Irish princess, and brought over a copy of the Law, which is now buried in the Mount Tara (from *Thorah*, 'the Law')," must surely cause one's eyes to open in amazement. Who is the Irish historian that has made so important a discovery? And as for *Tara* having any meaning in common with *Thorah*, I would like to learn upon what authority Dr. Neubauer maintains it. Perhaps even stranger are other arguments aiming to prove an ancient settlement of Jews in the United Kingdom, as, for example, "Edinburgh" being derived from "Eden" (what about the termination?), "Eboracum" (or "York"), from "Eber" or "Ebrac" (can this be related to "Abrech"?), and "London" from "Lan-Dan," which Dr. Neubauer renders "the dwelling of Dan," but for which term, as a compound, he will find no support in the sacred text. The translation of "Lan," as "the dwelling," I am at a loss to understand, since "Lun" or "Lin" to lodge (or rather, to remain temporarily) does not convey the idea of permanence, as he attempts to show. Nor does the word "lan," occurring in Gen. xxxii. 22, have any other signification than that of "lodged."

But Dr. Neubauer ventures still further when he claims that "old London was, therefore, inhabited by the Danites (perhaps, a part of them went over to Denmark, although not yet claimed by the Danes)." What do students think of such an argument? Again, the Oxford Librarian writes, "the Guildhall may have been the lepers' house, connected with the Hebrew word גִּלְדָּר (Job xvi. 15);" and "in the name of Dublin is most likely to be found a reversed form, that name seeming to be *Dublan*, the dwelling of *Dub* or *Dob*. This word, which means, usually, in Hebrew, a bear, could, dialectically mean a wolf (hardened from *Zeeb*). The wolf represents the tribe of Benjamin (Gen. xlix. 27), consequently a part of the Benjaminites settled in Dublin," etc. Apart from the point regarding the affinity of *Dob* and *Zeeb* (which may be possible, though it seems remote), what weight attaches to the main statements? In a more recent article, "The Anglo-Israel Mania," of Feb. 12th, he writes: "Not only from names of

towns can I prove the settlement of Israelitish tribes in the United Kingdom, but also from family names. So, for instance, would I suppose that the name of Labouchere is nothing else but Hebrew לוישר = Lavusar (in softened form) = the Prince of Levi. Will not this bring over to my 'craze' *Truth*, which has done me the honor of noticing my recent communication to 'N and I?'"

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**Syriac and Assyrian.**—At the last meeting of the Oriental Society (see *Proceedings*, 1886, p. xxv) my friend, Professor Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania, opened up a new field of research for us in showing the affinities between Samaritan and Assyrian. If I put in a plea here for the Syriac, both as regards the Assyrian and the Samaritan, it is because, in these studies, this language has been unnecessarily neglected. Of all the Aramean dialects, the Syriac of Edessa ('Urhâi) and Nisibis (N'sîbhîn, Sôbhâ) is the one which has played the greatest part in history. Its vocabulary is therefore the most extended; and in studying Samaritan, our first recourse must of necessity be to the Syriac, to see whether a word is not of general Aramaic use. For instance, the stem ŠLM, as Professor Jastrow (p. xxvi) correctly shows, has the meaning "die" in Assyrian and Samaritan. The Syriac, however, has this meaning as well. Good old Castell (ed. Michaelis, p. 916) had already cited Mark xv. 37 [39]; 2 Macc. vii. 7, 13 (ed. Lagarde, p. 230). Trost adds Luke xxiii. 46. See also Wright, *Contrib. to Apoc. Lit. of N. T.*, 56:4, Šelmath naphšê. The Syriac shows the same development, "complete, end," as the Assyrian. So also the Jewish Aramaic. Levy, TW., II., 487.<sup>1</sup> The Samaritan translation for š'bhû'âthî, Gen. xxiv. 8, אָמִי, is merely the Syriac î mi, î m â, Payne Smith, col. 1602; Jewish Aramaic, אִמִּי, Levy, TW., II., 385. For the similarity of the verbs אָפִי and אָפִי see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Gram.*, § 179 (and note), ZDMG., XXII., 500. ŠLK *cut open, tear open* has the same meaning in B'khôrôth, 45a (Levy, TW., II., 490). For the Arabic see Lane, I., p. 1410 seq. As regards the MS. reading of Gen. xix. 29, see Kohn in ZDMG., XXXIX., 220. In the same manner the meaning "fight" does not attach to the stem KRB in Assyrian and Samaritan only. For the 'Aph'el in Syriac "bellavit" see the passages in Cast.-Mich., p. 825. "Contendere," with 'am, 'Aprêm, II., 32 E (cf. Ethiopic takarba bellavit). Likewise k'râbhâ (not kârâ, as in Cast.) *bellum*; makr'bhânê bellatores, 'Aprêm, III., xxix; k'râbhtânâ bellicos, Land, III., 211:12; Josephus, 15:5, etc. Jewish Aram. k'râbhâ, Levy, II., 385. Samaritan מרנע comes from a form akin to the Syr. madhn'â: אדלה is the Syriac 'adh lâ.

For the derivation of ארש from ראש, Professor Jastrow has the support of Castell in his *Heptaglott Lexicon*, p. 237, where he compares Samar. ארש with Heb. ראשית "per metath." For the Samar. telîm and the Assyr. talimu, see Smith's *Chaldäische Genesis*, trans. by Delitzsch, p. 272, n. 1. On תלימו = ארו, Gen. xli. 2, see Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 42, who cites Geiger, ZDMG., XVI., 732.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Wahrmund, *Handbuch der Arab. u. Deut. Sprache*, I., 920, the Arabic تسلم arrives at a similar meaning in a different way: "du bist glücklich davon gekommen, d. h. der nach welchem du fragst ist gestorben."

## →BOOK NOTICES←

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### VATKE'S OLD TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION.\*

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In 1835, Wilhelm Vatke published his *Religion des Alten Testaments*, one of the first works in which was broached the theory now known by the name of Graf, Kuenen or Wellhausen. This maiden effort was so saturated with Hegelian philosophy as to be almost incomprehensible to the uninitiated, and Prof. Reuss himself holding the same theory of the Pentateuch, confesses that he was unable to read the book. On account, possibly, of the cold reception met by this work, Vatke gave up authorship almost altogether, and although he continued to lecture in Berlin until his death (1882), he published very little. We now receive from one of his pupils his lectures on "Old Testament Introduction."

A comparison with the earlier work shows some remarkable changes. The Hegelian terminology which makes the earlier work almost unreadable has disappeared. The style is now clear and simple. A transcendental philosophy nowhere shows itself. We have the common sense almost commonplace view of things which we expect to find in a work of this kind. The author begins with a definition and a brief history of the science. He then takes up general introduction, treating first of the people of Israel and the Semites in general. A second chapter treats the Hebrew language; a third, the Hebrew alphabet. The canon and text are then taken up including the history of the printed text. A history of Old Testament exposition concludes this first part. The special introduction takes up the books in their usual order. About forty pages at the end are given to the Apocrypha.

I have said the transcendental philosophy of the earlier work nowhere shows itself. This statement must be modified so far as to admit the following statement which is purely speculative. "The Hebrew principle first stepped into life by prophets as organs of revelation. The earlier theological order of stand-points in the Old Testament which put the law first, the prophetic order next, is to be exactly reversed. The first stand-point of revelation *can be only* the prophetic, while all legal definitions, and the objective view involved in them, embody an application of the already existing principle to the actual world." This is, to be sure, a serious matter, and lays the author open to the charge freely made against his earlier book, that it is constructed *a priori*. But this is the only instance in which the principle is distinctly avowed in the present work.

The point at which the most interest will be manifested, is probably the treatment of the Pentateuch. As has been said, Vatke was one of the first to put the document known as A or Q—the first Elohist—not earlier than the captivity. We find, with some surprise, not only that he places his document earlier

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\* WILHELM VATKE'S HISTORISCH-KRITISCHE EINLEITUNG IN DAS ALTE TESTAMENT. Nach Vorlesungen herausgegeben von Dr. Hermann G. S. Preiss, mit einem Vorwort von Dr. A. Hilgenfeld. Bonn, 1886. 8vo, pp. xviii, 754.

in point of time than Deuteronomy, but that he holds to a new order of the documents. Dillmann, who uses the signs A B C D, supposes this order to represent the relative age of the documents. Wellhausen makes the chronology B C D A, while Vatke now comes in and asserts that it is C A B D. He adds, however, that the time of composition of the three earliest probably falls within the same half century (which he makes to be from 720 to 670 B. C.). One of the supposed surest data for determining the age of Deuteronomy, has been the Book of the Law in the Temple in the time of Josiah. This Book of the Law has been almost uniformly identified with Deuteronomy. Vatke now declares this to be an error, and asserts that *that* book was a composite of the three older documents, while Deuteronomy was not composed till the last decade of the kingdom of Judah (p. 387).

Beyond this, there is little which calls for special remark in the book. The author shows some acquaintance with American literature (p. 266). We are accustomed in such works to more or less ingenious and baseless hypotheses; as that the name יהוה was originally יהוה, or that Ps. LXXII. and Isa. XIX. 16-25 refer to the time of Ptolemy II. These, however, are sparingly used. The author leaves us Moses, believes him, indeed, to be the author of the Decalogue, therefore a monotheist who made religion bear upon the moral life of the people. He supposes the Decalogue to have been given in a briefer form than the present text.

We have found occasional inaccuracies or infelicities of expression. Is it true that all the Semitic dialects have the same method of constructing sentences—that their syntax is similar, in other words? (p. 178). Bleek-Wellhausen does not put Joel under Jeroboam II. (*Wellhausen* the name is spelled here, and we have noticed several similar errors, due of course to the proof-reader). The literature is generally brought down to a quite recent date. As Abulwalid's lexicon is mentioned as having been made known by Gesenius and others, it would be well to add that it was published by Neubauer. DeBiberstein Kazimirski appears as Kazimirski de Biberstein. Ugolino's Thesaurus is in thirty-four (not fifty-four) volumes. It is said that Zebulon (instead of Simeon) is not mentioned in Deut. XXXIII.

But it is a thankless task to be making minor criticisms. Accuracy is doubtless more difficult to obtain in a posthumous work than in one which the author himself is permitted to see through the press.

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### S. A. SMITH'S KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE ASURBANIPALS.\*

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This volume contains a transliteration of the Asurbanipal text (V R., 1-10), a translation of the same into German, some notes by the author, a few notes by Mr. Pinches, and a vocabulary. For students of Assyrian there is great need of carefully edited texts, with grammatical and philological notes. Such transliter-

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\* DIE KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE ASURBANIPALS, KÖNIGS VON ASSYRIEN (668-626 v. Chr.) nach dem selbst in London copirten Grundtext mit Transcription, Uebersetzung, Kommentar und vollständigem Glossar von Samuel Alden Smith. Heft I. Die Annalen nach dem Cylinder R<sup>m</sup> 1. (Vgl. V R. 1-10). Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1887.

ations, wherever possible, should be accompanied by the cuneiform text. The work of Lotz (*Tiglathpileser*), Pognon (*Bavian*), Lyon (*Sargontexte*), in this line, is known even to those who have but begun the study. It is greatly to be regretted that the work of Mr. Smith is not in all respects so reliable as that of his predecessors. One must infer that the work has been done too rapidly. There may have been circumstances, beyond the control of Mr. Smith, which have compelled this haste. For the sake of those who need such help as is here offered, it is certainly unfortunate.

In the transliteration there is a sad lack of uniformity. Not to speak of the typographical errors, which are very numerous, and the omissions, which occur too frequently, there are so many cases of inconsistency (at least a hundred or so) as to bewilder a beginner. Among many others, the following forms are used indiscriminately: kībit and kibit, kirib and kirib, šâdu and šadû, êlī and êli, âḥu and aḥu, âbu and abu. If one reads ê-mêd, why not also ê-pêš, ê-rêb, ê-kêm, etc. Wrong transliterations are not infrequent, as ḥaršânu for ḥuršânu, Bêl-ba-ša for Bêl-ikîša, etc. Why should he read palāḥ for the Participle of palâḥu, instead of paliḥ.

The translation in some places does not accord with the transliteration, there being occasionally what seem to be mistakes as to the precise grammatical form of the Assyrian word. In the vocabulary, words are not in all cases classified under the roots to which they properly belong; still there is ample room here for difference of opinion. The notes are not what either the student or the scholar would have liked. They are too few and too fragmentary for the former; too elementary for the latter. The notes of Mr. Pinches are most excellent. One can only regret their small number.

The zeal of Mr. Smith in his Assyrian labors is most commendable. It is gratifying to know that Americans are not neglecting this important branch of Semitic study. In such work, however, there is needed great care. With the careful work of Schrader, Delitzsch, Haupt, Pinches, Lyon, and others, before us, work even slightly imperfect suffers by comparison. In the succeeding volumes, it is to be hoped that Mr. Smith will not feel himself so hurried.

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# ➤HEBRÆA.◀

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NO. 4.

## THE TEXT OF JEREMIAH.

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It has long been known that the Septuagint version of Jeremiah differs remarkably from the Massoretic text. Probably the case is not quite so desperate as that of Ezekiel; for the current Hebrew is generally readable. But the fact of the variation is still remarkable and one that deserves investigation. Recent commentators have been content to pronounce in favor of the MT., and to use the LXX. occasionally "as at the most a secondary or tertiary source for the restoration of the text" (*von Orelli*, p. 217). A systematic study of the text critical questions, however, is still needed, such as Professor Cornill has given us in his edition of Ezekiel. The same author promises to edit Isaiah and Jeremiah; and for a decisive answer to the questions raised we may have to wait for these monographs. Meanwhile, however, it is well that the attention of others be directed to the problem. The following notes are intended to state some of the facts that must be taken into consideration.

In the notoriously confused condition of the LXX. text itself, the first point is, What shall we use as the best representative of this text? A provisional answer to this question may be given by means of Origen's Hexapla. Although this work as a whole has perished, fragments enough have come down to us to be of very great use. Especially with regard to the diacritical points we are in a favorable condition. In the Book of Jeremiah several MSS. are extant in Greek (besides the Syriac Hexapla) which testify to these diacritical points. These points distinguish the plus and minus of the LXX. That is to say: it was Origen's intention to mark with an asterisk everything not found in his LXX. which he inserted from the Hebrew (or from Theodotion's version), and to mark with an obelos everything in his LXX. which is not in the Hebrew. Evidently, if we find a MS. which *omits* whatever the hexaplar MSS. give with an asterisk, and at the same time *contains* what these mark by an obelos, we may safely claim that



we have Origen's text before us. The MS. which most nearly approximates this may be taken as the best one for our purpose until we get the really critical edition for which we have been waiting so long. Very little study will show us that the Vatican MS. (and the Roman edition based upon it) more nearly than any other now accessible fulfills these conditions. The following figures are fairly correct, I think; absolute accuracy is difficult to attain. In making them up I have counted every instance of the omission or insertion of a particle which would affect by a single letter the Hebrew text (as *kai* = ׀).

Asterisks are expressly testified in 739 instances in the Book of Jeremiah. The words so marked are omitted from Tischendorf's text in all but fifty cases. On the other hand, Tischendorf omits one or more words in 357 cases in which the asterisk seems not to be certified. As these last are in large proportion particles or small words, we might easily suppose the scribes not to have thought them worth designating in copying. More difficult is the case of the *plus* of the LXX. The obelos occurs in seventy-four instances, of which all but twelve correspond with our Greek text. But, in addition, our Greek text inserts a word or more in no less than 245 cases. Whatever else we may conclude from these figures, we can hardly suppose (for Jeremiah at any rate), as Cornill does, that the Vaticanus is a copy made from the Hexapla with the intention of restoring the genuine LXX. under the guidance of the diacritical marks (cf. Cornill, p. 84). The value of our edition for the comparison in hand, however, will be quite as great, because, by its greater variation from the MT. it shows itself even nearer the original LXX. than any text we can now command. For a brief consideration of the variants in Holmes and Parsons' edition shows that they have almost always arisen from hexaplar intermixture.

Taking Tischendorf's text, then, as on the whole a satisfactory representative of the Greek version, how does it differ from the received Hebrew? The answer is well known—it is considerably shorter. How now shall we account for this difference? The accepted answer is "by the careless and arbitrary manner in which the translators dealt with their text, leaving out words which they did not understand or which seemed to them superfluous." But while this is the current answer, another is, to say the least, conceivable—we may suppose that the *plus* of the MT. is in large part the insertion of scribes.

As between the two answers, it will readily be confessed that the probabilities, as judged by the ordinary observation of the laws of transmission, are on the side of the latter. A text is more likely to grow in the process of transmission than to shrink. The rhetorical expansion of an obscure phrase is more likely than its omission. The insertion of synonyms is more likely than their omission. The influence of parallel passages tends to swell the shorter form. The *a priori* probability then is in favor of the shorter text—in this case in favor of the LXX. The argument from age is in the same direction. The LXX. represents a He-

brew text considerably earlier than the time to which we can trace the type perpetuated in the MT. But, after all, these arguments only create a presumption. The presumption is strengthened by the ordinary conduct of the Greek translators, and, indeed, as the figures given above will show, even in the Book of Jeremiah they have often inserted words *as well as omitted* them, if the variations are to be referred to them at all, and this would be inexplicable. That is to say, while we might explain the omissions on the ground of a desire to be as concise as possible, we could not, in consistency with this, account for the insertions at all.

It may be said, indeed, that the argument will apply equally well to the MT. If its *plus* is the result of insertions, then we are at a loss to account for its *minus*. But this is only an apparent difficulty. The general rule is that the shorter text is original. Both LXX. and MT. have suffered from the tendency of scribes (continued through a long series of hands it must be remembered), a tendency to expand their text. Only they have not been affected uniformly, and the MT. has suffered more than the other. If this natural explanation be the correct one, an examination of the variations ought to show it. It is scarcely possible that the omission of some thousands of words from a book the size of Jeremiah should leave no traces in the resulting text.

The phrase **יְהוָה נָא** occurs in the Hebrew of Jeremiah 168 times, if we may trust the concordance. In 46 of these it is lacking in the LXX. It needs no reflection to see that the phrase, from the very fact of its occurring so often, would easily be inserted in new passages. If the phrase were original in all cases, we should expect it to be omitted where the omission would least disturb the sense. In such cases as the following: "Therefore behold the days come, *saith Yahweh*, that it shall no more be said" (vii. 32), "At that time, *saith Yahweh*, they shall bring forth" (viii. 1), "For these should I not visit, *saith Yahweh*, or upon such a nation" (ix. 8), "And it shall be if ye hearken to me, *saith Yahweh*, not to carry a burden" (xvii. 24),—in these cases the LXX. testifies to the reading, while the cases of apparent omission are many of them where the phrase occurs at the end of a verse.<sup>1</sup>

The cases of the divine name may be grouped together. The combination **יְהוָה אֲרוֹנִי** (or **יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת**) is found ten times in the Hebrew text. In only three of these it is witnessed by the LXX. In two of these, which are cases of direct personal address (i. 6; iv. 10) we find *δέσποτα κύριε*, in the other we have *κύριε θεῶν* (L. 25). It is probable that the first two are the only original instances. If the **אֲרוֹנִי** was omitted or *θεός* substituted for it eight times, why not in the other two? That a Jewish editor, however, should *insert* **אֲרוֹנִי** cannot be considered

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the discrepancy was originally larger than is indicated above. The great majority of cases in which the phrase remains in the Greek render it *λέγει κύριος*. Those MSS. which have inserted it later generally render *φησὶ κύριος*. But *φησὶ κύριος* occurs in a few instances in the Roman text. It is natural to suspect that they also are not original.

surprising. The phrase **יהוה אמר כה** occurs over a hundred times in the MT., while in thirty-two instances we find **יהוה צבאות**; **כה אמר יהוה צבאות**; once we have **יהוה צבאות**; **כה אמר יהוה צבאות**; thirteen times **יהוה צבאות**; **אלהי ישראל**; three times **יהוה צבאות**; **אלהי ישראל**; thirteen times **יהוה צבאות**. In contrast with this confused condition of things we find that the LXX. reads *kýrios* except in the following: xv. 16; xxii. 27; xxxii. 14, and xliv. 7, in which we find *kýrios παντοκράτωρ* (which is elsewhere the translation of **יהוה צבאות**) and six other cases where we have *kýrios ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ*. According to this, Jeremiah used *Yahweh of Hosts* or *Yahweh God of Israel* only rarely, and, as we may suppose, when he wished to be emphatic, and he never strung together *Yahweh God of Hosts God of Israel*, or like long drawn out titles. This usage is consistent and tells in favor of the LXX., while it is only too easy for a copyist to multiply titles under the impression that he is adding to the solemnity of the address.<sup>1</sup> Outside the phrase **יהוה אמר** the MT. has in one instance **יהוה צבאות**, in one it has **יהוה צבאות** and in fourteen **יהוה צבאות**. In all these cases<sup>2</sup> but six, the LXX. has simply *kýrios*, and in these six (three of them are in chapters L. and LI.) it reads *kýrios παντοκράτωρ*. The LXX. is thus consistent with itself.

We may next group together explicative words and phrases. In thirty-five cases **כל** of the Hebrew has no equivalent in the Greek,—one of the easiest words to insert; **לאמר** is omitted eight times; **הנביא** after a proper name (usually that of Jeremiah) is omitted twenty-four times, **מלך יהודה** twice, **מלך יהודה** four times; **נבוכדראצא** before **מלך בבל** seven times. The omission of **בבלה** (three times), **כה אמר יהוה** (three) and **השכם ודבר** are precisely similar. In all of them the insertion by a scribe is almost to be expected, and the shorter form is original. Notice the following like examples, where the brackets indicate the omission by the LXX.: xiii. 7, "And I took the girdle from the place where I had hidden it, and behold [the girdle] was spoiled." The omission of the subject is characteristic of the Hebrew. xix. 9, "In the siege and in the straitness with which their enemies [and those seeking their life] shall straiten them." xx. 5, "And I will give all the treasure of this city and all its property [and all its precious things], and all the treasures of the kings of Judah [will I give] into the hand of their enemies [and they shall plunder them and take them], and they shall bring them to Babylon." xxv. 9, "Behold, I will send and take [all] the

<sup>1</sup> One passage (xxxiii. 12) reads *kýrios δυναμῆων* in our present Greek text. The second word, however, is omitted by a considerable number of MSS., and is on the face of it suspicious, because we find elsewhere *παντοκράτωρ*. For the sake of completeness it may be added that **יהוה צבאות** is found twice, and **יהוה צב** twice; in three of these the LXX. has simply *kýrios*, once it reads *kýrios ὁ Θεός σου*, apparently borrowing from the first half of the same verse (ii. 19).

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that I have overlooked some, as the concordances are not very reliable on such frequently recurring phrases.

families of the north [saith Yahweh and unto Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, my servant], and will bring them upon this land." In all these instances the shorter reading makes perfectly good sense.

To enforce this point I will now give a few examples in the Hebrew form witnessed by the LXX., and then give separately the additional matter of the MT. If this additional matter really belongs to the text, the fact will easily be discovered.

i. 18.—והנה נתתיך היום לעיר מבצר ולחומות נחשת למלכי יהודה—  
לשריה ולעם הארץ:

MT. inserts and על-כל הארץ, ולעמוד ברזל, אני.

vii. 17.—האינך ראה מה המה עשים בחוצות ירושלם: MT. inserts  
בערי יהודה ו.

vii. 26.—הרעו ויקשו את-ערפם מאבותם.

xi. 4.—אותם כ inserted, שמעו בקולי ועשיתם כל אשר אצוה.

xii. 3.—תראני, ואתה יהוה ידעתני ובחנת לבי אתך.

xiii. 4.—אשר קנית inserted, קח את האזור אשר על מתניך.

xiii. 17.—ודמע תדמע—added, תבכה נפשי מפני גוה ותרד עיני דמעה.

xviii. 4.—וכחמר MT. inserts and כחמר, ונשחת הכלי אשר הוא עשה בידו—  
changes בידו into ביד היוצר.

xix. 5.—לשרף את בניהם באש אשר לא צויתי ולא עלתה על לבי.

MT. inserts ולא דברתי and עלות לבעל.

xxi. 4.—כה אמר יהוה הנני מסב את כלי המלחמה אשר אתם—  
נלחמים בם את-הכשרים הצרים עליכם מחוץ לחומה אל תוך העיר  
הזאת:

The insertions are and את-מלך בבל ו, אשר בידכם, אלהי ישראל, ואספת אותם.

xxii. 25.—ונתתיך ביד מבקשי נפשך אשר אתה יגור מפניהם;  
וביד נבוכדראצר מלך בבל וביד and ביד, הכשרים insertions.

Cf. further the following:

vi. 16, 17, "Thus saith Yahweh:

Call to the mourning women that they may come,  
And to the cunning women send that they may hasten,  
And let them take up for us a lamentation."

The structure, which is here quite regular, is disturbed by the Massoretic insertions. xxv. 3, 4, "From the thirteenth year of Josiah, son of Amon, king of Judah, and to this day, three and twenty years I have spoken to you, rising early and speaking, and I have sent to you my servants the prophets, rising early and sending, and you have not heard and have not inclined your ear." Eight words

are inserted by the MT. xxv. 33, "And the slain of Yahweh in that day [LXX., in the day of Yahweh] shall be from the end of the earth to the end of the earth, and shall not be buried; for dung on the face of the ground they shall be." MT. inserts "they shall not be mourned and shall not be gathered." xli. 1-3, "And in the seventh month came Ishmael, son of Nethaniah, son of Elishama, of the seed royal, and ten men with him, unto Gedaliah to Mizpah, and they ate bread there together. And Ishmael and the ten men with him arose and smote Gedaliah whom the king of Babylon had appointed in the land, and all the Jews which were with him in Mizpah, and the Chaldees which were found there." For the more than twenty words inserted by the MT. I will refer to the original. The sense is entirely clear without them.

While the insertions in the above passages are in general easily accounted for, there are some plain instances of duplication, as ix. 4, **הנני מאכילם את-** [את-], where the clause in brackets really duplicates the suffix immediately preceding. In this way arose apparently the reading **ואכלהו ויכלהו** in x. 25. In xi. 13, we read "And as the number of the streets of Jerusalem ye have placed *altars to Bosheth, altars to sacrifice to Baal*;" LXX. has simply *βαμυδς θυμῶν τῇ Βάαλ*. The substitution of Bosheth for Baal is known from other parts of the Old Testament. Here the two readings are combined in the Hebrew, but not yet in the Greek. Another example is in the passage already quoted (xli. 3), where MT. reads, "And all the Jews which were with him *with Gedaliah*." Cf. also li. 56, **כי בא עליה על ככל שורד**.

Heretofore we have considered the *plus* of the MT. Let us look at some of the *alternate readings*. After Jeremiah is shown a **סיר נפוח** he adds (i. 14) "And Yahweh said to me: From the North evil is *opened* (**תפתח**) upon all the inhabitants of the land." The LXX. reads apparently **תנפח**, preserving the paronomasia. In iii. 22 the Hebrew has **ארפה משובתיכם**; for the second word we find *τὰ συντριμματα ὑμῶν* which of course represents **משברותיכם**. xv. 14 now reads, "And I will make thine enemies to pass over into a land thou knowest not." For **והעברתי** LXX. reads **והעברתיך**—"And I will make thee to serve thine enemies in a land thou knowest not," evidently more in accord with the context, confirmed also by the Targum which has **והשתעבדון**. "And ye shall serve there other gods which shall not show you mercy" (so LXX. in xvi. 3); MT. has the difficult phrase **אשר לא אתן לכם חנינה**. A well known case is xxiii. 33, "And when this people or prophet or priest shall ask thee saying, What is the burden of Yahweh? then thou shalt say to them *Ye are the burden*"—**אתם המשא** for which in the MT. we find the incomprehensible **את-מה-משא**. xli. 9, "And the pit into which Ishmael cast all whom he had smitten was the great pit"—so LXX. reading **בור גדול** for which MT. gives again an incomprehensible reading **ביר גדליהו**. In one or two of these in-

stances we might be in doubt whether the LXX. deserves the preference; but they show at least that the translators did not simply guess, but if they made mistakes, the mistakes arose from the confusion of similar forms for which their Hebrew copy is to be held responsible. So when they in an unvocalized text confused רעים and רעים, נם and נם, שמה and שמה, we can hardly lay it to carelessness. Further examples of confusion of similar letters in their Hebrew copy are תנור for תנור (iv. 1), ילכו for ילכו (xii. 2), והושבתים for והושבתים (xii. 15), ישמעו for ישמעו (xii. 17), אמר for אמר (xv. 11), רעתך for רעתך (xxii. 22), חרב for חרון (xxv. 38), שם for בם (xli. 8, this and the preceding are probably right in the LXX. ), כה for כה (ix. 15).

There is plenty of evidence therefore that the MS. from which the version was made has suffered in transmission. The influences which affected it are the same in kind as those we have discovered affecting the MT. Although the LXX. is so much shorter, it has in places suffered the same kind of inflation, as in xxi. 3, where it adds after Zedekiah βασιλέα Ιουδα, or xxi. 5, where it inserts πάντας, or xxiv. 1, where it adds a fourth class to the three carried captive according to the Hebrew, or xxxii. 28, where it inserts after Yahweh ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ. In fact the same tendencies affected the LXX. after its translation; for a considerable group of MSS. (the same which Cornill supposes to represent Hesychius' recension) has in several instances + ὁ Θεός from which the other groups are free.

The principle that the more difficult reading is to be preferred, is often abused. There is a sense in which an ungrammatical expression is more difficult than a correct one. To take one more example from Jeremiah (xxv. 26); the reading of the MT. is ואת-כל-הממלכות הארץ אשר-על פני האדמה. Any tyro knows that הממלכות הארץ is ungrammatical. The LXX. omits הארץ and is therefore in a sense less difficult. But if we state the rule as it is stated by Westcott and Hort—that reading is original which will account for the existence of the other—we shall have a better guide. If the shorter reading is the original we can easily account for the longer as the work of an absent-minded scribe to whom the phrase כל ממלכות הארץ was familiar. But we cannot account for the longer reading as the work of Jeremiah at all. Such glaring instances are, of course, rare, but some of those quoted above are scarcely less convincing.

Adequate treatment of the text of Jeremiah would require a volume. The cases treated in this paper are, however, I think fair examples of the state of the text, and, if so, they justify the conclusion that the LXX. was made from a better text than the one preserved for us by the synagogue. The LXX. is therefore a source for the text of the very first importance. Both LXX. and MT., however, have suffered from the same tendencies, and by judicious criticism it is possible to construct from both a better text than that now shown by either one. This critical work is our need.

Two questions have not been referred to here. One concerns the original arrangement of the prophecies, the other concerns the longer sections not found in the LXX. The answer to these questions is not necessarily influenced by pronouncing in favor of the LXX. in general. It is entirely possible that a better MS. should suffer dislocation and mutilation from which another has escaped.

## THE MONOLITH INSCRIPTION OF SALMANESER II.

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In the following paper is found for the first time a translation, with accompanying transcription, in syllables, of the valuable Monolith Inscription of Salmaneser II., whose reign forms one of the most interesting chapters in Assyrian history. Before commencing this work, a collation of the text was an indispensable prerequisite, as may be seen from the number of corrections which, for purpose of comparison, I have here inserted. The collation of this text, which was the main object of a visit to the British Museum, where, during the summer of '85, I spent six weeks in the copying of texts, was done with the utmost care, the doubtful portions being frequently revised under the best attainable lights. The text, as edited in WAI., vol. III., seems to have been hurriedly executed, as even the most common signs are not exactly reproduced, as may be seen by referring to corrections No. 189. Where those minor variations occur, I have not always attempted to reproduce them, as this would make the work too cumbrous, and could satisfactorily be done only by a complete re-editing of the texts; and as they are of importance only as showing the exact form of writing.

The essential improvements which I have been able to make in the text, such, e. g., as the reading of the god "Nanir," etc., as well as my rendering of the text on this basis, will, I trust, be of some value to the science. Partial translations have hitherto been given, as in Prof. Schrader's KAT. and KGF., by Menant, in *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie*, and a translation in *Records of the Past*, by Prof. Sayce. A comparison of these with that here contained will show the necessity of the present undertaking. Compare, e. g., Prof. Sayce's translation of Col. II. l. 10 with the correct translation: "To the land of Atalur, an uninhabited place of deserts and low-lying, I went. Its tribute I appointed." This is a mere guess. It is a good example of "giving a sort of rough guess at the signification of a sentence," which Prof. Sayce, in his *Lectures on the Assyrian Language*, p. 7, so justly condemns. The passage reads: "To the mountains of the land of Atalur, where an image of Ašur-irbê was erected, I went. An image with his image I erected." Still there is not even an interrogation mark affixed! Menant begins to translate at line 13.

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NOTE.—In the transcription I have adhered to the value of the signs as represented in Prof. Delitzsch's *Lesestücke*, indicating the length of the vowels otherwise only where ideographs occur.



I embrace this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to my friend, Mr. Pinches, of the British Museum, who spared no pains to render me every aid for the facilitation of my work, and, above all, to my esteemed Professor, Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, whose advice and instruction and friendly feeling bind me to him as a thankful pupil in lasting obligation.

## INTRODUCTION.

*The Name of Salmaneser* plays an important role in Assyrian history, there being no less than four kings of this name, viz., Salm. I., B. C. 1300-1271, the father of Tukultiadar I.; Salm. II., 860-824; Salm. III., 783-773, and Salm. IV., 727-722. The various methods of writing the name cannot be produced here. For the pronunciation, Šulmânašarêd = "Šulmân is prince," see Schrader, ZKF., Bd. II., 197, f.

*Life.* Salmaneser II., the son of Asurnazirpal and grandson of Tukultiadar II., whose long reign of thirty-five years was full of military activity and achievement, occupied the throne of Assyria from 860-824 B. C. He followed hard in the footsteps of his father, Asurnazirpal, extending his rule in all directions and carrying terror and bloodshed wherever he went. After he had seated himself, with all the accompanying ceremonial pomp, as he expressly tells us, upon the throne, he lost no time until he began his work of conquest. Having defeated Ninni of Simesi, and taken tribute from the adjacent tribes, he extended his march to Hupuskia on the upper Zab, overwhelmed and defeated his opposers and, having imposed on them taxes and tribute, pushed his way up through the Nairi-land with like results to the land of Urartû along the Araxes. After other expeditions on the Tigris he began operations on the Euphrates, receiving tribute from Katazilu of Kummuh, and afterwards from the confederate forces on the west of the Euphrates. The Phœnician coast was next the scene of his triumphal march. In 858 he overcame Ahuni of Til-barsip on the Euphrates, descended upon the other side and destroyed the neighboring towns. In the following year he repeated the attack on Til-barsip, took the city, committing the usual atrocities, built a palace within it, and changed its name to Kar-Salmaneser. In 856 Ahuni, after a terrible battle in Mount Šetamrat, was captured and, with his forces, etc., was carried off to Assyria. In 854 he left Nineveh again, crossed the Euphrates, took tribute from Carchemish and Kummuh, and later, having attacked Archulina of Hamath, engaged in a battle at Karkar against the confederate forces of twelve kings, among whom were *Benhadad II., of Damascus*, and *Ahab, of Israel*. The losses on both sides were heavy and the victory a doubtful one. After having turned his strength against the Babylonian usurper Merodachbalusate (see appendix) whom he put to death, he repeated his attacks on Syria. In 851, 850, 846 we find him in the west. The latter year, with 120,000 men, he marched against

Benhadad, put to flight the Syrians, pillaged their cities and took their spoil; but in 842 Syria was still unsubdued. According to III R., V., No. 6, he had again to contend for the mastery with Hazael of Damaskus, and three years later there was only tribute as before. Further expeditions, particularly to the northward of the Armenian mountains to the land of Namri, and westward to Media, were made. When he became too infirm to take the field, he gave the command to Dânašur, commander-in-chief, and, while he himself was obliged to remain in Chalah, his forces were executing his commands in the north country of Urarṭu and Patûi. The end of his reign, which was followed by the subjugation of Babylon to Assyria, largely through the extension of power due to him, according to Samsibin(?) was disturbed by an insurrection, set on foot by a faithless son, which was afterwards quelled by his faithful son and successor Samsibin(?).

#### *Inscriptions.*

1) The Monolith Inscription found at Kurkh on the Tigris, about twenty miles distant from Diarbekhr, and now in the British Museum. The monolith measures 2 m. 16 cm. in length, 85 cm. in width, and 21 cm. in thickness. The writing extends on the back 1 m. 89 cm., and on the front, 1 m. 20 cm. On the front side is a life-size sculptured figure of the king in the usual royal attire. Owing to the fringe of the garment and the partial decomposition of the stone, the writing is sometimes difficult to decipher.

2) The Black Obelisk. Compound of basalt. It narrates the events according to the years of his reign, and exhibits in five beautiful bas reliefs, which extend completely around the four sides, tributary peoples bringing various animals and objects, cloths and ivory to their acknowledged conqueror.

3) The Bull Inscriptions. Both these and the obelisk were found in the palace of Salmaneser at Chalah. The texts are to be found in Layard's *Inscriptions*.

4) Bronze Gates—a wonderful work of art—bear representations of battles, tortures, etc., etc., and an inscription. They were discovered by Mr. Rassam at Balawat. Another set of doors crumbled to pieces in being removed.

5) The Throne Inscription. Given in Appendix, which see.

6) A small inscription containing an account of Salmaneser's expedition against Syria during his eighteenth year. Contained I R. 5, No. 6, Delitzsch's *ALS.*, p. 98.

7) Several bricks. One which I copied in the British Museum, a duplicate of which Rev. Mr. Parry, D. D., was kind enough to send me a copy, is in his possession. They read as follows:

"Salmaneser, the great king, the powerful king, the king of multitudes, the king of Assyria, the son of Asurnazirpal, the great king, the powerful king, the king of multitudes, the son of Tiglath-adar, the king of multitudes, king of Assyria, who rebuilt (ri-šip-tu) the tower of the city of Chalah." Cf. Layard's *Inscriptions*, p. 78.

## TRANSLITERATION.

(III R., pp. 7, 8.)\*

## COL. I.

1. <sup>ilu</sup> A-šur bēlu rabu-ú šar gim-rat<sup>1</sup> ilā-ni rabûtê <sup>ilu</sup> A-nu šar <sup>ilu</sup> Igigê u  
<sup>ilu</sup> A-nun-na-ki bēl mâtâtê <sup>ilu</sup> Bēl a-bu ilāni mu-šim šimāti
2. mu-šir ê-šu-rat [šamê-ê irši]tim <sup>ilu</sup> Ê-a ir-šú šar apsê [rabu]<sup>2a</sup>-ú nik-la<sup>2</sup>-ti  
<sup>ilu</sup> Na<sup>3</sup>-nir šamê-ê iršitim <sup>ilu</sup> ê-tél-lu <sup>ilu</sup> Ša-maš
3. dân kibrâtê muš-tê-šir<sup>4</sup> tê-ni<sup>5</sup>-šê-ê-tê <sup>ilu</sup> Ištār bē-lit kabli u taḥāzi ša mē-lul-  
ta-ša tukuntu ilāni rabûtê rá'im-ut šarrû-ti-ia
4. bēlû-ti kiš-šú-ti u ša<sup>6</sup>-pi-ru-ti ú<sup>7</sup>-šar-bu šú-mê kab-tu zik-ri ši<sup>8</sup>-i-ra muḥ<sup>9</sup>?†-hur  
bēl-ê ma-'a-diš iš-ku-nu i-ni-ni.
5. Šulmānu-ašarêdu šar kiš-šat nišê rubû-ú šangû Ašûr šarru dan-nu šar mātu Aššûr  
šar kul-lat kib-rat arba'-i <sup>ilu</sup> Šam-šú kiš-šat nišê
6. mur-tê-du-ú ka-liš mâtâtê šarru ba-'a-it [ilā]ni ni-šit ê-[ni] <sup>8a</sup>[<sup>ilu</sup>] Bēl šakkânāk  
Ašûr pit-ku-du rubû-ú na-a-du a-mê-ru
7. [du]-ur-gê ũ šap-ša-kê mu-kab-bi-is ri-šê-ti-ê ša šadê-ê ka-liš hur-ša-a-ni ma-ḥir  
bilti <sup>9</sup> ũ i-gi-si-ê
8. [kâli-š]i-na kibrâtê mu-pat-tu-ú tu-da-ti ša ê-lis ũ šap-liš ša a-na ti-ib taḥāzi-šu  
dan-ni kibrâtê ul-ta-nap-ša-ka
9. i-ḥi-lu mâtâtê ina mē-dil id-du-ti-šu iš-da-ši-na; zikaru dan-nu ša ina tukul-ti  
Ašûr <sup>ilu</sup> Ša-maš ilāni ri-šê-šú ittala-ku-ma
10. ina mal-kê ša kib-rat arba'-i ša-nin-šu lâ išu-ú šar<sup>10</sup> mâtâtê šar-ḥu ša ar-ḥê pa-  
aš-ku-tê ittala-ku iš-tam-da-ḥu šadê-ê u tāmâtê
11. apal m-Ašûr-nâšir-pal šakan <sup>ilu</sup> Bēl šangû Ašûr ša šangû-su êlî ilāni i-tê-bu-ma  
mâtâtê nap-ḥar-ši-na a-na šêpê-šú u-šak-ni-šu nab-ni-tu êllu-tu ša m-Tukultî-  
Adar
12. šá kul-lat za-i-rê-šú<sup>11</sup> i-ni-ru-ma is-pu-nu a-bu-ba-ni-iš. Ê-nu-ma Ašûr bēlu  
rabû-ú ina ku-un [libbi]<sup>12</sup>-šú ina<sup>13</sup> ināti-šu<sup>14</sup> éllāti ud-da-ni-ma
13. rê-'u-ut mātu Aššûr ib-ba-an-ni kakku dan-nu [mu†]-šam-kit lâ ma-gi-ri u-šat-  
mê-ḥa-ni-ma a-ga-a [ši-ra] u-pir-ra<sup>15</sup> bēlu-ti nap-ḥar mâtâtê
14. tu . . . . [na-ki]-ru-ut Ašûr a-na pê-li u šuk-nu-sê ag-giš u-ma-'i-ra-an-ni  
ina ūmê?-šú-ma ina šur-rat šarru<sup>17</sup>-ti-ia ina maḥ-ri-ê palī-ia
15. ina kussê šarru-ti rabi-iš u-sê-bu narkâbâte ummânâtê-'a<sup>16</sup> ad-ki ina ni-ri-bi ša  
mātu Si-mê-si êru-ub<sup>18</sup> a<sup>19-20</sup>-na <sup>alu</sup> A-ri-di âl dan-nu-ti-šu
16. ša m-Ni-in<sup>21</sup>-ni ak<sup>189</sup>-tê-rib âla a-si-bi ak<sup>189</sup>-ta-šad dikta-šu ma'attu a-duk šal-  
la-su<sup>22</sup> aš-lu-la a-si-tu ša kakkadê ina pu-ut âli-šu ar-šip
17. <sup>23</sup>batûlê-šu-nu <sup>šal<sup>24</sup></sup> ba-tu-la-tê-šu-nu a-na ma-ak-lu-tê ašrup. Ki-i ina <sup>alu</sup> A-ri-  
di-ma us<sup>25</sup>-ba-ku-ni ma-da-tu ša mātu Har-ga-a-a<sup>26-27</sup> mātu Har-ma-sa-a-a

\* The numbers above the signs refer to "Corrections."

† The remaining traces of the sign (in R. "u" "nap") seems to be in favor of muḥ.

‡ R.

## TRANSLATION.

## COL. I.

1. Ašur, the great lord, the king of all\* the great gods, Anu, king of the Igigi and Anunnaki, the lord of lands, Bêl, the father of the gods the determiner of destinies, <sup>2</sup>who fixes the bounds (bands) of (heaven and) earth, Ea, the decider, the king of the abyss, great in wise devices, Nanir, of heaven and
3. earth, the majestic, Šamaš, <sup>3</sup>the judge of the (four) quarters of the globe, the ruler of mankind, Ištar, the queen of war and battle, whose command is
4. war; the great gods, the favorers of my sovereignty, <sup>4</sup>lordship, might and rule have they increased, my renowned name, my majestic title, <sup>5</sup>† come before
5. rulers, abundantly have they (the gods) established my i-ni-ni (or *me* ?). <sup>5</sup>Salmaneser, the king of the multitude of men, the prince, the priest of Ašur, the mighty king, the king of the land of Assyria, the king of the whole of the
6. four regions, the sun of all mankind, <sup>6</sup>the ruler (who rules fully) of all lands, the king chosen of the gods, the beloved of Bêl, the governor of Ašur, the circum-
7. spect, the great, the majestic, who looks upon <sup>7</sup>paths and declivities, who treads the peaks of mountains (and) forests everywhere, who receives the
8. tribute and presents of <sup>8</sup>all regions, who opens up the roads both above and below, who, by the approach of his mighty battle, distresses the regions and
9. <sup>9</sup>shakes‡ countries to their foundations in the power of his might,—the manly, the mighty, who by the aid of Ašur (and) Šamaš, the gods his helpers, marches,
10. and <sup>10</sup>among the princes of the four regions has no rival; king of countries, the powerful (one) who marches over declivitous routes, traverses mountains
11. and seas, <sup>11</sup>the son of Ašurnazirpal, the governor‡ of Bêl, the priest (servant) of Ašur, whose priestship being well-pleasing unto the gods,|| they subjected
12. all lands to his feet, the brilliant descendant of Tiglath-adar <sup>12</sup>who subjugated all his enemies and hurled them down as a deluge.—At the time when Ašur, the great lord, in the fidelity (or fixedness) of his heart, with his clear eyes
13. recognized (knew) me and to the <sup>13</sup>sovereignty of the land of Assyria called me, a powerful weapon, the overthrower of the insubordinate, he bestowed¶ upon me, and with a majestic crown adorned (decked ?) my sovereignty, all
14. lands <sup>14</sup>. . . . the enemies of Ašur to subjugate and subdue sternly did he command me.
15. In those days, at the beginning of my rule, in my first year of rule, <sup>15</sup>(as) upon the throne of sovereignty ceremoniously I seated myself, the chariots, my forces, I assembled; into the pass of the land of Simesi I entered. To
16. the city of Aridi, the stronghold <sup>16</sup>of Ninni, I approached. The city I besieged, I took. Many of his warriors I slew. His spoil I carried off. A column (row) of heads, at the entrance of the city-gate, I fixed together.
17. <sup>17</sup>Their young men, their young women, I burned up. While I was quartered

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\* = totality.

† See notes.

‡ Professor Sayce leaves out the word "iḥīlu" and supplies "hope" instead (which robs the passage both of its poetry and meaning), or perhaps had in mind יחל, תִּחַל.

§ The sign ša might mean šiku; but in view of Sargon-Inscr. 3, šaknu is certainly correct here.

|| Lit., whose priestship was well-pleasing unto the gods and they, etc.

¶ Lit., caused me to hold.

18. mâtu Si-mê-sa-a-a mâtu Si-mê-ra-a-a mâtu Si-riš-a-a mâtu Ul-ma-ni-a-a sîsê šimd-at nîri alpê šêni karânê amḥur ištu<sup>189i</sup> alu A-ri-di
19. at-tu-muš arḥi pa-aš-ku-tê šadê mar-šu-ti ša kîma šê-lu-ut paṭri parzilli a-na šamê-ê zi-kip-ta šak-nu ina aggulat êrê siparri ak-ḥur narkabâtê<sup>28\*</sup>
20. ummânâtê ú-šê-tik a-na alu Hu-pu-uš-ki-a ak-tê-rib alu Hu-pu-uš-ki-a a-di C âlâni<sup>29</sup> ša li-mê-tu-šú ina iṣâti aš-ru-up m. Ka-ki-a
21. šar mâtu Na-i-ri ũ si-tê-it ummânâtê-šu ištu pa-an na-mur-rat kakkê-’a ip-la-ḥu-ma šadê-ê dan-nu-ti iṣ-ba-tu arki-šu-nu ana šadê-ê ê-li
22. taḥâzu dan-nu ina ki-rib-šadê-ê aš-ku-un abikta-šu-nu am-ḥa-aš narkabâtê ummânâtê<sup>30</sup> sîsê šimd-at nîri ištu<sup>189a</sup> ki-rib šadê-ê ú-tê-ra pul-ḥê mê-lam-mê
23. ša Ašûr bêli-ia is-ḥu-pu-šu-nu-ti ur<sup>31</sup>-du-ni šêpê-ia iṣ-ba-tu biltu u ma-da-tu êlî-šu-nu ú-kin ištu<sup>189a</sup> alu Hu-pu-uš-ki-a at-tu-muš
24. a-na alu Su-gu-ni-a âl dan-nu-ti-šu ša m. A-ra<sup>189</sup>-mê mâtu U-ra<sup>189</sup>-ar-ṭa-a<sup>32</sup> ak-tê-rib âla a-si-bi ak<sup>189</sup>-ta-šad dîkta-šu-nu ma-’a-tu a-dûk
25. šal<sup>183</sup>-la-su aš-lu-la a-si-tu ša kakkadê ina pu-ut âli-šu ar-šip XIV âlâ-ni šâ<sup>189</sup> li-mê-tu-šu ina iṣâti aš-ru-up ištu alu Su-gu-ni-a
26. at-tu-muš a-na tâm-di ša mâtu Na-i-ri at-ta-rad kakkê-ia ina tâm-di ú-lil immêru nikê ana ilâni-ia ak-ki ina ũ-mê-šú-ma ša-lam bu-na-ni-ia
27. êpu-uš ta-nî-ti Ašûr bêli rubi-ê bêli-ia u li-ti kiš-šú-ti-ia ina ki-rib-šu al-ṭur ina êlî tâm-di u-šê-ziz ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia
28. ša tâm<sup>34</sup>-di ma-da<sup>35</sup>-tu ša m. A-su<sup>36</sup>-ú mâtu Gu-za-na-a<sup>36a</sup> mat(?) sîsê alpê šêni karânê II ud<sup>37</sup>-ra-a-tê šâ šinâ gu-un-gu-li-pi am-ḥur
29. a-na âli-ia Ašûr ub-la. Ina araḥ Airi ũm XIII ištu<sup>189</sup> alu Ninua at-tu-muš nâru Idiklat ê-tê-bir šadâ Ḥa-sa-mu šadâ Di-ih-nu-nu [at]-ta-bal-kat
30. ana alu La-’a-la-’a-tê ša m. A-ḥu-ni apal A-di-ni ak-tê-rib pu-ul-ḥê mê-lam-mê ša Ašûr bêli-ia is-ḥu-pu-šu<sup>39</sup>-nu<sup>40</sup> a-[na] . . . . .
31. ê-lu-ú âla ab-bu-ul ak-ḥur ina iṣâti aš-ru-up iṣ-tu alu La-’a-la-’a-ti at-tu-muš a<sup>41</sup>-[na] . . . . .
32. ša m. A-ḥu-ni apal A-di-ni ak-tê-rib m. A-ḥu-ni apal A-di-ni a-na gi-biṣ umm<sup>42</sup>[ânâtê-šu it-ta-kil]†-ma ḳabla u taḥâza [ana ê-piṣ] . . a-ni. I-na tukul-ti Ašûr
33. u ilâni rabûtê bêlê-ia it<sup>43</sup>-ti-šu am-daḥ-ḥi-iṣ a-bi-ik-ta-[šú] <sup>44</sup>aš-kun i-na âli-šu ê-sir<sup>45</sup>-šu ištu alu Ki-[ra]†-ka at-tu-muš
34. a-na alu Bur-mar-’a-na ša A-ḥu-ni apal A-di-ni [a-lik† âla] a<sup>46</sup>-si-bi ak-ta-šad V šú-ši mun-daḥ-šê-šu-nu ina kakkê u-šam-[kit<sup>47</sup>] a-si-tu ša kakkadê
35. [i-na<sup>48</sup> pu-ut âli-šu ar-šip] . 1<sup>6</sup> cm. broken. . ma-da-tu ša m. Ha-pi-ni alu Til-ab-na-a ša m. Ga-’a-u-ni alu Sa-ru ? . . . a ? <sup>49</sup> m. Gi-ri-Rimmân
36. . . . . kasper hurâša alpê šêni karânê am-ḥur ištu alu Bur-mar-’a-na at-tu-muš ina êlippê mašak taḥ<sup>50</sup>-ši-ê nâru Purâtu
37. ê-tê-bir ma-da-tu šâ<sup>50a</sup> m. Ka-ta-zi-li<sup>50b</sup> mâtu Ku-mu-ḥa-a-a kasper hurâša alpê šêni karânê am-ḥur a-na mâtu<sup>51</sup>[Pa-ḳar-ru]-uḥ-bu-ni

\* No pl. sign on Monolith, hence prop. narkabta.

† Restored by comparison with Obv. II, 15, III R., 5, No. 6, 42 and 43.

# or [ak-tê-rib].

18. in the city of Aridi, the tribute of the Hargæans, the Harmasæans, <sup>18</sup>the Simesæans, the Simeræans, the Sirisians, the Ulmanians, horses trained\* to
19. the yoke, oxen, sheep, wine I received. From the city of Aridi <sup>19</sup>I departed. Steep roads and difficult mountains, which like the point of an iron dagger raised their peaks to the skies, with hatchets of bronze (and) copper I broke
20. down. Chariots (and) <sup>20</sup>forces I brought through. To the city of Hupuskia I advanced. The city of Hupuskia together with one hundred bordering towns
21. I burned with fire. Kakia, <sup>21</sup>the king of the land of Na'iri, and the remainder of his troops before the brilliancy of my weapons became afraid and betook themselves† to the mighty mountains. After them to the mountains I
22. ascended. <sup>22</sup>A great battle in the midst of the mountain I fought. Their overthrow I accomplished. Chariots, forces, horses trained to the yoke out of
23. the mountain I brought back. The fear of the splendor <sup>23</sup>of Ašur, my lord, overwhelmed them; they descended and laid hold of my feet.‡ Taxes and
24. tribute I laid upon them. From the city of Hupuskia I departed. <sup>24</sup>To the city of Sugunia, the stronghold of Aramu of the land of Urartu, I advanced;
25. the city I besieged, I took. Many of their warriors I slew. <sup>25</sup>His spoil I carried off. A column of heads at the entrance of his city I fixed together. Fourteen of its neighboring towns I burnt with fire. From the city of Sugu-
26. nia I departed. <sup>26</sup>To the sea of the land of Na'iri I descended. My weapons
27. in the sea I washed. Offerings to my gods I sacrificed. In those days <sup>27</sup>I made a life-size image of myself; the glory of Ašur, the great lord, my lord, and the might of my power, I wrote upon it and placed it above the sea. On
28. my return <sup>28</sup>from the sea, tribute from Asû of the land of Gozan, horses,
29. oxen, sheep, wine, two dromedaries, I received; <sup>29</sup>to my city Aššur, I brought (them). In the month of Iyyar, the 13th day, I departed from Nineveh, I crossed the Tigris, the mountain of Hasamu, the mountain Dihnunû, I
30. passed over. To the city of <sup>30</sup>Lâ'lâ'tû which belonged to Ahuni, the son of Adini, I approached. The fear of the splendor of Ašur my lord overwhelmed
31. them. To (the mountains etc.?) they went. <sup>31</sup>The city I destroyed (and) devastated. With fire I burnt it. From the city of Lâ'lâ'tû I departed. To
32. (the city of Kiraka, the city) of <sup>32</sup>Ahuni, the son of Adini, I advanced. Ahuni, the son of Adini, trusted to the multitude of his forces, and to offer engage-
33. ment and battle (he advanced against me). With the help of Ašur <sup>33</sup>and the great gods, my lords, I fought with him. His overthrow I accomplished. In
34. his city I shut him in. From the city Kiraka? I departed. <sup>34</sup>To the city of Burmar'ana, belonging to Ahuni, the son of Adini, (I went. The city) I be-
35. sieged, I took. Three hundred of their fighting men I brought down with my weapons. A column of heads <sup>35</sup>(at the entrance of his city I fixed together).
36. . . . Tribute of Hapini of the city of Tilabnâ, of Gâ'uni of the city of Sa-ru? . . . a? Giri-Ramman . . . <sup>36</sup>silver, gold,
37. oxen, sheep, wine I received. From the city of Burmar'ana I departed. In ships of lamb-skins <sup>37</sup>I crossed the Euphrates. Tribute from Katazilu of the land of Kumuhu, silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine I received. To the land of

\* Span of the yoke.

† Lit., took the mighty mountains.

‡ = did me obeisance.

38. âlâni ša m-A-ḥu-ni apal A-di-ni ša šêpâ am-ma-tê ša nâruPurātu ak-tê-rib a-bi-ik-ti mâti aš-kun âlâni-šu na-mu-ta
39. ú-ša-lik abikta ku-ra-dê-šu šêru rap-šú ú-mal-li i M. III C šâbê ti-du-ki-šu-nu ina kakki u-šam-kiť<sup>52</sup> (nothing wanting)
40. ištu<sup>189</sup> aluPa-kar-ru-uḫ-bu-ni at-tu-muš a-na âlâ-ni ša m-Mu-tal-li aluGam-gu-ma-a-a ak-tê-rib ma-da-tu
41. ša m-Mu-tal-li aluGam-gu-ma-a-a kaspa ḥurâša alpê šêni karânê mârat-su<sup>53</sup> iš-tu nu-du-ni<sup>54</sup> ša ma-'a-di [am]-ḥur ištu aluGam-gu-mê
42. at-tu-muš ana aluLu-ti-bu âl dan-nu-ti-šu ša m-Ha-a-ni mâtuSa-am-'a-la-a-a ak-tê-rib m-Ha-a-nu mâtuSa-am<sup>54a</sup>'a-[la-a]-a m-Sa-pa-lu-ul-mê
43. mâtuPa-ti-na-a-a m-A-ḥu-ni apal A-di-ni m-Sa-an-ga-ra mâtuGar-ga-miš-a-a a-na ri-šu-ut<sup>55</sup> 56a-ḥa-mêš [it-]tak-lu-ma ik-šu-ru
44. taḥâza a-na ê-piš êtêku<sup>56a</sup>-ma<sup>56b</sup> a-na irti-ia it-bu-ni ina idâti ši-ra-a<sup>57</sup>-ti ša iluUrugallu a-lik pâni-ia ina kakkê êz-zu<sup>58</sup>-tê.
45. ša Ašûr bêlu iš-ru-ka it-tê-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iš a-bi-ik-ta-šu-nu aš-kun mun-daḫ-ḫi-ši-šu-[nu<sup>59</sup>]
46. ina kakkê u-šam-kiť kîma iluRammân êlî-šu-nu ri-ḫi-il-ta u-ša-az-nin<sup>60</sup> ina ḫi-ri-šê at-bu-uk-šu-nu šal-mat
47. ku-ra-di-šu-nu šêru rap-šú ú-mal-li dâmê-šu-nu kîma na-pa-si šada-a aš-ru-up narkabâtê <sup>60a</sup> [ma]-'a-tu sîsê
48. šimd-at nîri-šu ê-kim-šu a-si-tu ša kaḫkadê ina pu-ut âli-šu ar-šip âlâni-šu ab-bul ak-kur ina isâti [aš-ru<sup>61</sup>]-up
49. ina û-mê-šú-ma ad-lu-ul nar-bu-ut ilâni rabûtê ša Ašûr u iluŠa-maš kur-di-šu-nu ú-ša-pa ana ša-a-tê ša-lam šarru-ti-ia
50. šur-ba-a êpu-uš il-ka-kat kur-di-ia êp-šit ur-nin<sup>62</sup>-ti-ia ina ki-rib-šu al-ṭur ina rêš ê-ni nâruSa-lu-a-ra
51. ša šêpu šadê-ê mâtuHa-ma-ni ú-šê-ziz iš-tu mâtuHa-ma-ni at-tu-muš nâruA-ra-an-tu ê-tê-bir a-na aluA-li-šir(muš)
52. âl dan-nu-ti-šú ša m-Sa-pa-lu-ul-mê mâtuPa-ti-na-a-a ak-tê-rib m-Sa-pa-lu-ul-mê aluPa-ti-na-a-a a-na šu-zu-ub<sup>63</sup>
53. napšâtê-šu m-A-ḥu-ni apal A-di-ni m-Sa-ga-ra aluGar-ga-miš-a-a m-Ha-a-a-nu mâtuSa-ma-'a-la-a-a m-Ka-tê-šu<sup>65</sup> ? . . . . .<sup>66</sup>
54. mâtuKu-ú-a-a m-Pi-ḫi-ri(?)\* mâtuHi-lu-ka-a-a m-Bur-a-na-tê mâtuJa-as-bu-ka-a-a m-A-da(?) . . . . .<sup>67</sup> . (the last three signs very doubtful)

## COL. II.

1. . . . . ka-a . . . . .
2. . . . . u-pâr-ri-ir âla a-si-bi ak-ta-[šad]
3. . narkabâtê<sup>68</sup>-šu ma'adu sîsê šimd<sup>69</sup>-at nîri-šu . . [aš]-lu-la [dikta-šu ma'adu]
4. [ina] kakkê u-šam-kiť ina ki-rib tam-ḫa-ri šú-a-ti m-Bur-a-na-tê [mâtu Ja-as-bu-ka-a-a]

\* Not legible.

38. (Pakaru)ḥbuni, <sup>38</sup>the cities of Aḥuni, the son of Adini, on the farther side of the Euphrates, I approached. The overthrow of the land I accomplished.
39. The cities <sup>39</sup>I turned to destruction, (with) the overthrow of his soldiers (brave ones) I filled the wide district. One thousand and three hundred of his warriors with the weapons I brought low. <sup>40</sup>From the city of Pakaruhbuni I departed, to the cities of Mutalli the Gamgumian I advanced. Tribute <sup>41</sup>from Mutallu the Gamgumian, silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine, his daughter with her large dowry, I received. From the city of Gamgumê <sup>42</sup>I departed. To the city of Lutibu, the stronghold of Hânu, the Samalæan I advanced. Hânu the Samâ'læan, Sapalulme, <sup>43</sup>the Patinær, Aḥuni, the son of Adini, Sangara the Carchemisian, trusted to their reciprocal aid, and collected together.
44. <sup>44</sup>Battle to make they advanced, and came up before me (lit., to my breast). In the exalted power of Nergal, who goes before me, with the strong weapons which <sup>45</sup>Ašur, the lord, presented, I fought with them; their overthrow I accomplished; their fighting men <sup>46</sup>with the weapons I brought low. Like the god Ramman, over them I caused to pour an inundation. Into the ditches (of the city) I cast them. <sup>47</sup>The corpses of their warriors I caused to fill the wide field. With their blood like wool I colored the mountain. Many of their chariots, horses <sup>48</sup>trained to the yoke I took from him. A column of heads at the entrance of his city I fixed together. His cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burnt with fire. <sup>49</sup>In those days I was obedient to the will (lit. greatness) of the great gods in causing the bravery† of Ašur and Šamas to shine for future (days). A sovereign image of great size I made. The course of my bravery, the deeds of my power, I wrote upon it. At the head source of the river Saluara, <sup>51</sup>which is at the foot of the mountain of the land of Hamani, I erected (it). From the land of Hamani I departed. The river Orontes I crossed. To the city of Alisir (muš), the stronghold of Sapalulmu, the Patinian, I advanced. Sapalulmu, the Patinian to save <sup>53</sup>his life,‡ Aḥuni the son of Adini, Sagara the Carchemisian, Hânu the Samâ'læan Katâšu ? the Kûean Piḥiri, the Cilician Burânatâ, the Jasbukean Ada ? . . . . .

## COL. II.

1. . . . . ka . . . . .
2. . . . . I broke, the city I besieged, I took
3. his chariots many, horses trained to the yoke . . . . . I carried off.
4. (His many warriors) <sup>4</sup>with the weapons I brought low. In the same battle

\* Power.

† Lit. lives.

‡ Sagara. Probably the same as Saugara, I. 43; II. 19, 27, 82.



5. ka-a-ti lu ik-šú-du <sup>alu</sup> ma-ḥa-zê rabûté ša <sup>alu</sup> Pa-ti-na-a-a <sup>?70</sup> . . .
6. ê-li-ni-tê ša mātu A-ḥar-ri u ? tâm-di DUP\* <sup>ilu</sup> Šam-ši kîma ti-lu a-bu-bê lu aš-  
ḥu<sup>71</sup> [up-šu-nu-ti]
7. ma-da-tu ša šarrâ-ni ša a-ḥat tâm-di am-ḥur ina a-ḥat tâm-di ra-pa-aš-tê mé<sup>72</sup>.  
šê-riš šal-tê-iš
8. lu at-ta<sup>189</sup>-lak ša-lam bêlu-ti-ia mu-kin šumi-ia a-na da-ra-a-ti êpu-uš ina êli  
tâm-di u<sup>73</sup> [šê-ziz]
9. a-na šadê-ê mātu Ha-ma-ni ê-li iṣu ga-šu-rê iṣu ê-ri-ni iṣu bu-ra-šê<sup>74</sup> a<sup>75</sup>-kis a-na  
šadê-ê
10. mātu A-ta-lu-ur a-šar šalmu ša Ašûr-ir-bi zak-pu a-lik šalma itti<sup>76</sup> šalmi-šu  
u-šê-ziz ištu tâm-di at-tar<sup>77</sup> [rad]
11. <sup>alu</sup> Ta-ia-a<sup>78</sup> <sup>alu</sup> Ha-za-zu <sup>alu</sup> Nu-li-a <sup>alu</sup> Bu-ta-a-mu ša m. Pa-ti-na-a-a akšu-  
ud MM.DCCC. dîkta-šu-nu
12. a-dûk XIV M.VIC šal<sup>79</sup>-la-su-nu aš-lu-la ma-da-tu ša m. A-ra-mê apal Gu-si  
kaspa ḥurâša alpê
13. šêni karânê <sup>iṣu</sup>80 iršu ḥurâšu ka-sap amḥur. Ina li-mê šatti šumi-ia ina<sup>81</sup> arah  
Airi ûm XIII ištu <sup>alu</sup> [Ni-nu-a]
14. at-tu-muš nâru Iḍiklat ê-tê-bir šadû Ha-sa-mu šadû Di-iḥ-nu-nu at-ta-bal-kat  
a-na <sup>alu</sup> Til-bur[si-ip] âl dan-nu-[ti-šu† ša] m. A-ḥu-[ni]
15. apal A-di-ni ak-tê-rib m. A-ḥ[u-ni ap]al A-di-ni a-na gi-biš ummânâtê-šu it-ta-  
kil-ma a-na irti-ia it-[ba a-bi]-ik-ta-šú aš-kun ina [âli-šu]
16. ê-sir-šu ištu <sup>alu</sup> Til-bur-si-ip at-tu-muš ina êlippê ša mašak taḥ-ši-ê nâru Purātu  
ina me-li<sup>189</sup> ša ê-tê-bir <sup>alu</sup> . . . a ?-ga-a <sup>alu</sup> Ta-gi . . .
17. <sup>alu</sup> Su-ú-ru-nu <sup>alu</sup> Pa-ri-pa <sup>alu</sup> Til<sup>82</sup>-ba-šê-ri-ê <sup>alu</sup> Da-bi-gu VI âlâni-šu dan-nu-  
ti ša m. A-ḥu-ni apal A-di-ni [lu] ak-ta-šad dîkta-šu
18. ma'adu a-dûk šal-la-su-nu aš-lu-la II C âlâni ša li-mê-tu-šu-nu ab-bul ak-ḥur  
ina išâti aš-ru-up ana <sup>alu</sup> Da-bi-gi-i
19. ana <sup>alu</sup> Sa-za-bi-ê âl dan-nu-ti-šu šâ<sup>189</sup> m. Sa-an-ga-ra<sup>189</sup> <sup>alu</sup> Gar-ga-miš-a-a ak-  
tê-rib âla a-si-bi ak[ta-šad] dîkta-šu-nu ma'adu a-dûk
20. šal-la-su-nu aš-lu-la âlâ-ni ša li-mê-tu-šu ab-bul ak-ḥur ina išâti aš-ru-up šarrâ-  
ni šâ mātu . . . . ana si-ḥir-ti-šu-nu
21. ištu pân na-mur-rat kakkê-ia dan-nu-ti u taḥâzi-ia šit-mu-ri ip-laḥ-ú-ma šêpê-  
ia iṣ-ba-tu<sup>83</sup> m. . . . . un šâ<sup>84</sup> mātu Pa-ti-na-a-a
22. III Gun ḥurâši I C Gun kaspi III C Gun siparri III C Gun parzilli I M diḫârê  
siparri I M. ku lu-bûl-[ti bir-mê <sup>ku</sup>85] kitû mâr-at-su
23. it-ti nu-du-ni-ša ma'adi XX Gun <sup>818</sup> argamâni D alpê V M. šêni am-ḥur-šú I  
Gun kaspi II Gun argamâni ? C iṣu gašurê iṣu ê-šu<sup>86†</sup>-ni
24. ma-da-tu ina êli-šu aš-kun šatti-šam-ma ina âli-ia Ašûr am-da-ḥar m. Ha-ia-a  
na apal Gab-ba-ri ša šêpu šadû Ha-ma-ni X Gun kaspi XC (or XXX)? Gun

\* Perhaps ʿrîb. † II. 19. ‡ Šu instead of ri is probably a mistake of the scribe.

5. Burânâtê [the Jasbukean] my hand took (captive). <sup>5</sup>The great cities of the  
6. Patinians . . . upper (cities) of Phœnicia and ? the sea of the setting ?  
sun, like the ruins of a deluge, I destroyed them (lit., I cast them down). The  
7. tribute of the kings on the coast I received. On the coast of the broad sea  
8. (Mediterranean) upright and triumphant <sup>8</sup>I marched. A royal\* image, the  
preserver of my name forever, I made. Above the sea I (erected it). To the  
9. mountains of Hamani I went up. Beams of cedar wood, cypress wood, I cut  
10. down. To the mountains <sup>10</sup>of the land of Atalur, where an image of Ašur-irbi  
was erected, I went. An image with his image I erected. From the sea I  
11. descended. <sup>11</sup>The city of Tajâ, the city of Hazazu, the city of Nulia, the city  
of Butamu of the Patinians, I took. Two thousand, eight hundred of their  
12. warriors <sup>12</sup>I killed. Fourteen thousand, six hundred of their prisoners I  
13. carried off. Tribute from Aramu, the son of Gusi, silver, gold, oxen, <sup>13</sup>sheep,  
wine, a bed of gold and silver I received. During the archonship of the year  
14. of my name, in the month of Iyyar, on the 13th day, <sup>14</sup>I departed from Nine-  
veh ; I crossed the Tigris (and) passed through the land of Diġnunu. To the  
15. city of Tilbarsip, the stronghold of Ahuni, <sup>15</sup>the son of Adini, I advanced.  
Ahuni, the son of Adini, trusted to the number of his forces and advanced  
16. against me. I accomplished his overthrow. In (his city) <sup>16</sup>I shut him. From  
Tilbarsip I departed. In ships of lamb-skins I crossed the Euphrates during  
17. high water. The city of . . . agâ ?, the city of Ta-gi . . . <sup>17</sup>the city of  
Sûrumu, the city of Paripa, the city of Til-bašêrê, the city of Dabigu, six  
18. strongholds of Ahuni, the son of Adini, I took. Many <sup>18</sup>of his warriors I  
killed ; their booty I carried off. Two hundred neighboring towns I destroyed,  
19. devastated (and) burnt with fire. To the city of Dabigu, <sup>19</sup>to the city of  
Sa-za-bû, the stronghold of Sangara, the Carchemisian, I advanced. The city  
20. I besieged (and) took. Their many warriors I killed. <sup>20</sup>Their booty I carried  
off. The neighboring cities I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire.  
21. The kings of the land of . . . all about,‡ before the brilliancy of my  
powerful weapons and my raging battle became terrified, and embraced‡ my  
22. feet. . . . un from the land of Patina, <sup>22</sup>three talents of gold,‡ three  
talents of silver, three talents of copper, three hundred talents of iron, one  
thousand vessels of copper, one thousand (pieces) of variegated cloth, linen,  
23. his daughter <sup>23</sup>with her large dowry, twenty talents of purple cloth, five  
hundred oxen, five hundred sheep I received from him. One talent of silver,  
24. two talents of purple cloth, x hundred beams of cedar, <sup>24</sup>as tribute I laid upon  
him. Every year in my city Asur I received (it). Hajânu, the son of Gabaru,  
at the foot of mount Hamanu, x talents of silver, (90 ? 3 ?) talents of gold,

\* Lit., "image of my rule."

† Lit., "according to their circumference."

‡ took.

§ According to present value of gold, a talent would be equal to about \$32,400.00.

25. siparri XXX<sup>87</sup> Gun parzilli III C. ku lu-bul-ti bir-mê kitû III C al-pê III M. šêni II C i<sup>90</sup> ga-šu-rê i<sup>90</sup> ê-ri-ni<sup>88</sup> II X\* Bêpl. i<sup>90</sup> ê-ri-ni
26. mârât-su it-ti nu-du-ni-ša am-ḥur-šú X ma-na kaspi I C<sup>89</sup> i<sup>90</sup> gašurê i<sup>90</sup> ê-ri-ni C<sup>90</sup> X\*—Bê-pl. i<sup>90</sup> ê-ri-ni ma-da-tu ina êlî-šú<sup>91</sup> aš-kun šatti-šam-ma
27. am-da-ḥar m. A-ra-mu apal A-gu-si X ma-na ḥurâši VI Gun kaspi D alpê v M. šêni am-ḥur-šú m. Sa-an-ga-ra alu Gar-ga-miš III<sup>92</sup> Gun
28. ḥurâši LXX Gun kaspi XXX Gun siparri C Gun parzilli XX Gun <sup>šiq</sup> arga-mânu D<sup>93</sup> i<sup>90</sup> Kakkê mârât-su it-ti nu-du-ni ũ C mârâtê rabûtê-šu
29. D alpê<sup>94</sup> v M. šêni am-ḥur-šú LX ma-na ḥurâši I Gun kaspi II Gun <sup>šig</sup> arga-mâni ina êlî-šu aš-kun šatti-šam-ma am-da-ḥar-šú m. Ka-ta-zi-lu
30. mâtu Ku-mu-ḥa-a-a XX ma-na kaspi III. C i<sup>90</sup> gašurê ê-ri-ni šatti-šam-ma am-da-ḥar. Ina li-mê m. Ašûr-bêl-ka-in ina<sup>95</sup> araḥ Dû<sup>96</sup>zi? ũm XIII ištu alu Ninua at-tu-muš
31. nâru Idiklat ê-tê-bir šadû Ha-sa-mu šadû Di-ih-nu-nu-nu at-ta-bal-kat ana alu Til-bar-si-ip al dan-nu-ti-šu ša m. A-ḥu-ni apal A-di-ni ak-ta-šad m. A-ḥu-ni
32. apal A-di-ni ištu pân na-mur-rat kakkê-ia iz-zu-tê u taḥâzi-ia šit-mu-ri a-na šu-zu-ub napšâte-šu [ina mê-li]-ša nâru Purâtu ê-bir
33. a-na mâtâtê ša-ni-a-ti ib-bal-kit ina ki-bit Ašûr bêli rabî bē<sup>97</sup>li-ia alu Til-bar-si-ip alu A-li-<sup>189</sup> gu . . 10 cm. . . ša-gu-ka a-na alu šarrûti-ia
34. aš-bat amêlê amêlu Aš-šû-ra-a-a ina lib-bi u-šê-šib êkallâtê a-na šû-bat šarrûti-ia ina ki-rib-šu ad-di alu Til-bar-si-[ip] alu Kar-Šulmân-ašarêd
35. šum alu Nap-pi-gi alu Li-ta-Ašûr šum alu Al-li-gi alu Aš-bat?la-ku-na šum alu Ru-gu-li-<sup>189</sup>-ti alu Ku(Dur)-bi-it(d) [<sup>99</sup>šumê]-šu-nu ab-bi ina ũmi-šu-ma
36. a-na alu Ašûr-u-tir-aš-bat šá<sup>189</sup> amêlê mâtu Hat-ta-a-a alu Pi<sup>100</sup>-it-ru i-ḫa-bu-šu-ni šá<sup>189</sup> êlî nâru Sa-gu-[ra] šá šêpa-am-ma ša nâru Purâti
37. ũ alu Mu-ut-ki-i-nu šá<sup>189</sup> šêpa? an-na-tê šá nâru Purâtu šá m. Tukulti-pal-êšar-ra âbû rubu-ú âlik pâni-ia u-ša-[aš<sup>101</sup>-bi?-tu] ina tar<sup>102</sup>-ši<sup>108</sup> m. Ašûr-kirbi<sup>103</sup>?
38. šar mâtu Aššûr šar mâtu A-ra-mu ina da-na-ni ê-ki-mu-ni âlâ-ni šû-nu-ti a-na aš-ri-šu-nu ú-tê-ra mârê amêlu Aš-šu-ra-a-a ina lib-bi ú-šê-šib.
39. Ki-i ina alu Kar-Šulman-ašarêd us-ba-ku-ni ma-da-tú ša šarrâ-ni ša a-[ḫat] tâm-di ũ šarrâ-ni ša a-ḫat nâru Purâti kaspi ḥurâša anakupl. siparra
40. dikârê siparri parzillupl.<sup>105</sup> alpê šêni ku. lu-bul-ti bir-mê u ku. kitûpl. am-ḥur ištu alu Kar-Šulmanu-ašarêd at-tu-muš šadû Su-mu<sup>106</sup> at-ta-bal-kat
41. a-na mâtu Bit-za-ma-ni at-ta-rad ištu<sup>189</sup> mâtu<sup>107</sup> Bit-za-ma-a-ni at-tu-muš šadû Na-am-da-nu šadû Mê-ir-? <sup>108</sup>su a-ta-bal-kat ar-ḫê pa-aš-ḫu-tê šadê-ê
42. mar-šu-ti ša kîma šê-lu-ut paṭri a-na šamê-ê zi-ḫip-ta iṣku-nu ina ag-gul-lat êrê aḫ-ḫur<sup>109</sup> narkabâtê ummânâtê ú-šê-tiḫ a-na mâtu En-zi-tê šá<sup>189</sup> mâtu Išû-a

\* See correction 90 for the representation of this sign, the syllabic value of which is not known. See also note.

<sup>109</sup> Nor. Lex. 154, correct.

25. <sup>25</sup>thirty talents of copper, thirty talents of iron, three hundred (pieces) of variegated cloth, linen, three hundred oxen, three thousand sheep, two hundred beams of cedar, two X-Bê of cedar, <sup>26</sup>his daughter with her large dowry I received from him. Ten mana of silver, one hundred beams of cedar, one hundred? X-Be of cedar as tribute I laid upon him. Every year in my city
27. Ašur <sup>27</sup>I received it. Aramu, the son of Agusu, ten mana of gold, six talents of silver, five hundred oxen, five thousand sheep, I received of him. Sangara
28. of the city of Carchemish, three talents of <sup>28</sup>gold, seventy talents of silver, thirty talents of copper, one hundred talents of iron, twenty talents of variegated cloth, five hundred weapons, his daughter with dowry, and one hundred
29. daughters of his nobles, <sup>29</sup>five hundred oxen, five thousand sheep I received from him. Sixty mana of gold, one talent of silver, two talents of variegated
30. cloth, I laid upon him. Every year I received (it) from him. Katazilu, <sup>30</sup>the Kumuhian, twenty mana of silver, three hundred beams of cedar, every year I received (of him)——In the archonship of Asurbêlkain, in the month of Tam-
31. muz, on the 13th day, I departed from the city of Nineveh. <sup>31</sup>The river Tigris I crossed, the mountain of Hasamu, the mountain of Diĥnunu, I traversed. To the city of Tilbarsip, the stronghold of Ahuni, the son of Adini, I came.
32. Ahuni, <sup>32</sup>the son of Adini, before the brilliancy of my mighty weapons and my raging battle, to save his life, during high water, crossed the river
33. Euphrates. <sup>33</sup>To other lands he crossed through. By command of Ašur the great lord, the city of Tilbarsip, the city of Aligu . . . (city of) Sagukka
34. to my royal city I brought. <sup>34</sup>The men of\* Assyria within (it), I settled. Palaces, for my royal residence in its midst I built. The city of Tilbarsip,
35. Kar-Salmaneser, the name of the city Nappigi, Lita-Ašur, <sup>35</sup>the name of the city of Aligu, Azbat(?)lâkuna, the name of the city Ruguliti, Ku(dur)bit(?) their
36. names I called.—In those days also, <sup>36</sup>to the city of Ašur-utir-ašbat which the men of the land of Chatti call the city of Pêthor, which is above the river
37. Sâgûr, beyond the river Euphrates, <sup>37</sup>and the city of Mutkinu which is on this side of the Euphrates which Tiglathpileser, the father who was (went)
38. before me, had violently taken, (which) in the time of Asurkirbi(?) <sup>38</sup>the king of the land of Assyria(?) the king of Aram (Mesopotamia)† had by force taken away; these same cities I restored to their place. The sons of Assyria
39. (i. e. Assyrians) I settled within (them). <sup>39</sup>While I was quartered in the city of Kar-Salmaneser, the tribute of the kings of the sea-coast, and the kings
40. along the shores of the Euphrates, silver, gold, lead, copper, <sup>40</sup>vessels of copper and iron, oxen, sheep, variegated cloth and linen I received. From the city of Kar-Salmaneser I departed, the mountain of Sumu I crossed over.
41. <sup>41</sup>To the land of Bit-Zamâni I descended. From the land of Bit-Zamâni I departed. The mountain of Namdanu, the mountain Mêirsu I crossed. De-
42. clivitous roads and <sup>42</sup>difficult mountains, which like the point of a dagger raised (made) their peaks to the skies, with hatchets of bronze I broke down. Chariots (and) forces I caused to go through (forward). To the land of

\* Lit. "men, Assyrians."

† I. e., evidently an agreement had been made by which the king of Aram received it back again.

43. at-ta-rad mâtu En-zi-tê a-na si-ḥir-ti-ša kâtî ik-šu-du âlâ-ni-šu-nu ab-bul aḳ-kur ina iṣâti aš-ru-up šal-la<sup>110</sup>-su-nu bu-ša-šu-nu ŠA-GA-šu-nu a-na lá mē-ni
44. aš-lu-la ṣa-lam šarrû-ti-ia šur-ba-a êpu-uš ta-na-ti Ašûr bêli rabê bêli-ia u lê-ti kiš-šû-ti-ia ina ki-rib-šu al-ṭur âlu Sa-lu-ri-a šaplu<sup>111</sup>\* [šadâ?] <sup>112</sup> Ki-ri-ê-ḳi ú-šê-ziz
45. Ištu mâtu Ên-zi-tê at-tu-muš nâru Ar-za-ni-a ê-tê-bir a-na mâtu Su-uḫ-mê a-na aḳ-tê-rib âlu Ú-aš-ta-al âl dan-nu-ti-šu ak-ta-šad [mâtu]<sup>†</sup> Su-uḫ-me a-na si-ḥir-ti-ša
46. ab-bul aḳ-kur ina iṣâti aš-ru-up m. Su-ú-a bēl âli-šu-nu ina kâ-ti aš-bat ištu mâtu Su-uḫ-mê at-tu-muš a<sup>113</sup>-na mâtu Da-ia-ê-ni a-ta-rad âlu Da-ia-e-ni
47. a-na si-ḥir-ti-ša ak-šud âlâ-ni-šu-nu ab-bul aḳ-kur ina iṣâti aš-ru-up šal-la-šu-nu bušâ-šu-na ŠA-GA ma'-a-du al-ḳa-a ištu mâtu Da-ia-e-ni at-tu-muš
48. a-na âlu Ar-za(ša)-aš-ku âl šarrû-ti-šu ša m. Ar-ra-mu âlu Ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a ištu pa-an na-mur-rat kakkê-ia<sup>†</sup> dannû-tê
49. u<sup>114</sup> taḥâzi-ia šit-mu-ri ip-laḫ-ma âla-šu ú-maš-šir<sup>115</sup> a-na šadê-ê mâtu Ad-du-ri ê-lî arka-šu a-na šadê-ê êlî taḥâzu dan-nu ina ki-rib šadê-ê aš-kun III M. IV C
50. mun-daḫ-ḫi-ši-šu ina kakkê u-šam-ḳit kîma âlu Rammân ina êlî-šu-nu ri-[ḫi-il]<sup>116</sup>-tu ú-ša-az-nin<sup>116</sup>§ dâmê-šu-nu kîma na-pa-si [šadâ lú] aš-ru-up<sup>||</sup><sup>118</sup> uš-ma-nu<sup>119</sup>-šu ê-ki-im-šú
51. narkabâtê-šu bit-ḫal<sup>120</sup>-lu-šú sîsê<sup>120</sup>-šu imêru pa-rê-šu a-ga-li ŠA-GA-šu šal-la-su bu-ša-šu ma'-a-du ištu ki-rib šadê-ê ú-tê-ra<sup>120</sup> m. Ar-ra<sup>120</sup>-mu a-na šú-zu-ub
52. napsâtê-šu a-na šadê-ê mar-ši ê-li ina ki-šîr zikrûti-ia mât-su kîma alpu rîmî<sup>121</sup> a-di-iš âlâni-šu na-mu<sup>122</sup>-ta ú-ša-lik âlu Ar-za(š)-aš-ku adi âlâ-ni
53. šá li<sup>120</sup>-mê-tu-šú ab-bul [aḳ-kur ina iṣâti aš-ru-up] a-si-ti-a-tê šá<sup>124</sup> ḳaḳḳadê<sup>125</sup> ina pu-ut abulli-šu ar-šip . . . . . ma?(pl.)-tê ina lib-bi
54. . . . . || [a]n-nu-tê ina ba-tu [bat-tê-ša] a-si-ta-a-tê ina zi-ḳi-pê ú-za-ḳip ištu âlu Ar-za-aš-[ḳu] at-tu-muš a-na šadê-ê
55. [mâtu Ê-ri-ti-a a-lik ṣa-lam šarrû]<sup>†</sup>-ti-ia šur-ba-a êpu-uš ta-na-ti [ša] Ašûr bêlu rabû<sup>126</sup> bêli-ia u lê-ti kiš-šû-ti-ia ša ina mâtu U-ra-[ar]ṭe ê-tap-pa-šú ina ki-rib-šu
56. [a]<sup>127</sup>-tur ina mâtu Ê-ri<sup>†</sup>\*\*-ti-a ú-ša-zi-iz ištu mâtu Ê-ri-ti-a at-tu-[muš† . . . âlu] A-ra-ma-li-ê aḳ-tê-rib âlâni-šu ab-bul aḳ-kur ina iṣâti aš-ru-up
57. ištu âlu A-ra-ma-li<sup>128</sup>-ê at-tu-muš a-na âlu Za-an-zi-ú-[aḳ<sup>128</sup>-tê-rib . . . ]†† ú . . . . §â-na taḥâ<sup>129</sup>-za ê-du-ur<sup>130</sup> šêpê'-a iṣ-bat

\* "Ki-ta," not "ku-ta," as in R.

† "Mâtu" probably omitted, occasioned by the preceding "šad."

‡ "ti" instead of plur. sign is probably an oversight.

§ Schrader's supposition (KGF, 132) correct.

|| Line 54 restored by reference to Asurnaz. I. 91.

† 18 cm. broken out.

\*\* By Sayce and Schrader correctly restored.

†† Lacuna 14 cm.

‡ 16 cm. broken out.

§ Cir. 12 cm. broken out, illegible, not as in R.

43. Enzite of the land of Isua <sup>43</sup>I descended. The land of Enzite in its whole extent my hands took. Their cities I destroyed (and) devastated (and) burnt  
 44. with fire. Their spoil, their possessions and goods without number <sup>44</sup>I carried off. My royal image, of great size, I made. The excellence of Ašur, the great lord, my lord, and the might of my power I wrote upon it. (In) the city of  
 45. Saluria at the foot of mount(?) Kirieki I erected it? <sup>45</sup>From the land of Enzite I departed. The river Arzania I crossed. To the land of Suḫmê I advanced. The city of Uaštai, his stronghold, I took. (The land) of Suḫmê in its whole  
 46. extent <sup>46</sup>I destroyed, devastated and burned with fire. Sûa, the governor of their cities, I took with my hand. From the land of Suḫme I departed. To  
 47. the land of Dajaêni I descended. The city Dajaêni, <sup>47</sup>in its whole extent I conquered. Their cities I destroyed, devastated and burnt with fire. Their spoil and large possessions I took forth. From the land of Dajaêni I departed.  
 48. To <sup>48</sup>the city of Arzašku, the royal city of Aramu, from the land of Urartai, I advanced. Arramu of the city of Urartai, before the brilliancy of my  
 49. mighty weapons <sup>49</sup>and my raging battle became afraid. His city he abandoned (and) to the mountains of the land of Adduri he ascended. After him I ascended the mountains (and) a hard battle in the midst of the mountains I  
 50. made. Three thousand four hundred <sup>50</sup>of his fighting men I brought low with the weapons. Like Ramman, over them an inundation I poured. With  
 51. their blood, as with wool, I colored the mountain. His baggage I took from him. <sup>51</sup>His chariots, his riding horses, his horses trained to the yoke, steers, calves, his goods, his spoil, his large possessions out of the midst of the moun-  
 52. tains I brought back. Aramu, <sup>52</sup>to save his life betook himself to the difficult mountains. In the might of my manhood, his land, like a wild ox, I trod down, his cities I turned to destruction. The city of Arzašku together with  
 53. <sup>53</sup>the neighboring cities I destroyed (devastated and burned with fire.) Columns of heads at the entrance of the city gate I fixed together . . . . .  
 54. some in the midst <sup>54</sup> . . . . . others round about the . . . columns on stakes I gibbeted. From the city of Arazašku I departed. To the mountains  
 55. <sup>55</sup>(of the land of Eritia I went, my royal image) of great size I made. The excellence of Ašur, the great lord, my lord, and the might of my power, which  
 56. in the land of Urartu I exercised, I wrote upon it. <sup>56</sup>In the land of Eritia I erected (it). From the land of Eritia I departed [ . . . . . Against . . . . . of the city] of Aramalu I approached. His cities I destroyed, devas-  
 57. tated and burnt with fire. <sup>57</sup>From the city of Aramalu I departed. To the city of Zanzin I (advanced. . . . . Battle he avoided,

\* Here evidently the name of the governor is omitted. See "Sûa" next line.

58. sîsê şîmd-at nîre alpê şêni am-ḥur-šú rê-mu-tu aš-ku-na-aš[šu] . . . . .  
 . . . . . -ia a-na tâm-di
59. šá mâtu Na-i-ri at-ta-rad kakkê Ašûr iz-zu-tê ina lib-bi tâm-di ú-li]\* immêru<sup>131</sup>  
 nikê [aḫ-ki ṣa-lam šarrû-ti-ia šur-ba-a]† êpu-uš ta-na-ti
60. Ašûr bêli rabî bêli-ia al-ka-kat ḫur-di-ia u êp-ši-ti ur-nin-ti-ia ina ki-rib-šu al-  
 ṭur [ištu tâm-di] at-tu-muš a-na mâtu Gil-za-a-ni
61. aḫ-tê-rib m. A-sa-a-ú šar mâtu Gil-za-a-ni a-di aḫê<sup>132</sup>-šu aplê-šu ina<sup>133</sup> irti-ia  
 u-ša-ú<sup>134</sup> . . . . . šarru?-ti? sîsê
62. şîmd-at nîri alpê şêni karânê VII ud-ra-tê ša II gu-un-gu-li<sup>139</sup>-pi-ši-na am-  
 ḥur-šú ṣa-lam šarrû-ti-ia šur-ba-a êpu-uš ta-na-ti Ašûr bêli rabi-ê bêli-ia
63. u lê-ti kiš-šu-ti-ia šá ina mâtu Na-'i-ri ê-tap-pa-aš ina ki-rib-šu al-ṭur ina ḳabal  
 âli-šu ina ê-kur-ri-šu ú-šê-ziz ištu mâtu Gil-za-a-ni at-tu-muš
64. a-na âlu Ši-la-ia âl dannu-ti-šu ša m. Ka-a-ki šar âlu Hu-pu-uš-ki-a aḫ-tê-rib  
 âla a-si-bi ak-ta-šad dikta-šu-nu ma'adu a-dûk III M. šal-la-su-nu alpê-šu-nu
65. şê-ni-šu-nu sîsê imêru pa-ri-ê a-ga-li a-na la mê-ni aš-lu-la a-na âli-ia Ašûr ub-  
 la ina ni-ri-bê ša mâtu Ên-zi-tê êru-ub ina ni-ri-bê ša mâtu Kir-ru-ri<sup>135</sup>
66. ina rêš âlu Arba'il ú-ši-a m. A-ḥu-ni apal A-di-ni šá<sup>139</sup> ištu<sup>139</sup> šarrâ-ni âbê-ia  
 ši<sup>136</sup>-ip-šu [u]<sup>138</sup> dan-na-ni<sup>138</sup> il-ta-kan-nu ina šur-rat šarrû-ti-ia ina li<sup>139</sup>-mê
67. šanat šumi-ia-ma<sup>139</sup> ištu âlu Ninua at-tu-muš âlu Til-bur-si-ip âl dan-nu-ti-šu  
 a-si-bi ḳu-ra-dê-ia† al-mê-šu mit-ḥu<sup>140</sup>-šu<sup>141</sup> ina‡ lib-bi-šu aš-kun
68. kirê-šu ak-ki-is nab-li mul-mu-li<sup>139</sup> êlî-šu ú-ša-za-nin ištu pân na-mur-rat  
 kakkê-ia mê<sup>68</sup>-lam-mê<sup>142</sup> [ša]|| bēlu-ti-ia ip-laḥ-ma âli-šu ú-maš-šir
69. a-na šú-zu-ub napiš-ti pl-šu nâru Purâtu ê-bir ina šani-tê šat-tê ina li<sup>139</sup>-mê m.  
 Ašûr-bân-a-a-ušur arki-šu ar-tê-di šadû Ši-i-ta-am-rat ubân šadê-ê ša a-ḫat  
 nâru Purâtu
70. ša kîma irpitti ištu šamê-ê šu-ḳal-lu-la-at a-na dan-nu-ti-šu iš-kun ina ḳi-bit  
 Ašûr bêli rabê bêli-ia u âlu Urugallu a-lik pâni-ia a-na šadû Ši-ta-am-rat aḫ-  
 tê-rib
71. šá ina šarrâ-ni âbê-ia mu-um-ma ina ki-rib-šu<sup>145</sup> la iṭ-ḥu-ú ina III ú-mê ḳar-  
 ra-du šadu-ú i-ḫi-ṭa<sup>146</sup> ga-ab-šú libbi-šú tu-ḳu<sup>147</sup>-um<sup>148</sup>-ta ub-la ê-lî ina šêpê-šu  
 šadû-ú
72. u-saḫ-ḫi-ip m. A-ḥu-ni a-na rupuš?† ummânâtê-šu it-ta-kil-ma ina irti-ia ú-ša-a  
 si-dir<sup>149</sup>-tu lu-iš-kun kakkê Ašûr bêli-ia ina libbi-šu-nu ú-tar-ri-ši abikta-šu-nu
73. aš-kun ḳaḳḳadê muḳ<sup>150</sup>-tab-lê-šú ú-na-kis dâmê mun-daḫ-šê-šu šadu-ú aš-ru-up  
 ma'-adu-ti-šu a-na ka-a-pi ša šadê-e i-ta-na-ḳu-tu-ni taḫâzu dan<sup>157</sup>-nu ina  
 libbi âli-šu
74. aš-kun pu-ul-ḫi mê-lam-mê šâ Ašûr bêli-ia is-ḥu-pu-šu-nu ú-ri-du-ni šêpê-ia  
 iṣ-bu-ú-tu m. A-ḥu-ni it-ti ummânâtê-šu narkabâtê bit-ḫal-lu-šú ŠA-GA  
 êkal<sup>152</sup>\*\* li-ši-na ma'-a-du

\* Schrader corrected to "u-lil lu ku."

† So to be restored! Cf. I. 50; II. 44, 55, 62.

‡ On the monolith 3 cm. broken out, probably before written upon.

§ Nothing wanting, as in R. || Instead of "šur," R. ¶ Haupt, ASKT., pp. 24, 493. \*\* Cf. II. 89.

58. my feet he embraced. <sup>58</sup>Horses trained to the yoke, oxen, sheep I received from him. Favor I granted him . . . . . (On my return), to the
59. sea of <sup>59</sup>the land of Na'iri I descended. The powerful weapons of Ašur I washed in the sea. Sacrifices (I offered. My royal image of great size) I
60. made. The excellence of Ašur, <sup>60</sup>the great lord, my lord, the course of my bravery and the deeds of my power, I wrote upon it. From the sea I departed.
61. To the land of Gozan <sup>61</sup>I advanced. Asâu, the king of the land of Gozan together with his brothers, his sons, came forth against me (Battle I made)
62. horses <sup>62</sup>trained to the yoke, oxen, sheep, wine, seven dromedaries, I received from him. My royal image, of great size I made. The excellence of Ašur the
63. great lord, my lord, <sup>63</sup>and the power of my might which I exercised in the land of Na'iri I wrote upon it. In the midst of his city within his temple I
64. erected. From the land of Gozan I departed. <sup>64</sup>To the city of Si-la-ja, the stronghold of Kâki, the king of Hupuškia, I advanced. The city I besieged, I took. Many of their warriors I killed. Three thousand prisoners, their
65. oxen, <sup>65</sup>their sheep, horses, steers, calves without number I carried off; to my city Aššur I brought (them). In the passes of the land of Enzitê I entered.
66. In the passes of the land of Kirruru <sup>66</sup>above the city of Arbêla I came out. Ahuni, the son of Adini, who since the kings, my fathers, supreme power and
67. might hath exercised, in the beginning of my rule, in the archonship of <sup>67</sup>the year of my name I departed from the city of Nineveh, the city of Tilbarsip, his stronghold, I besieged. In my strength I attacked it, and made battle
68. within it. <sup>68</sup>Its parks I cut down. The destruction of the javelins I poured out upon it. From before the brilliancy of my weapons, the splendor of my
69. lordship he became afraid; his city he abandoned. <sup>69</sup>To save his life he crossed the river Euphrates. In a second year, in the archonship of Ašur-banâušur I pursued after him. The mount of Šitamrat, the top of the mount-
70. ain, (or = high m.) on the shore of the Euphrates, <sup>70</sup>which like a cloud from the skies hung down, he had made his stronghold. By command of Ašur, the great lord, my lord, and Nergal, who goes before me, to the mount of Ši-
71. tamrat I advanced, into whose midst, among the kings my fathers no one had approached, in three days the mighty mountains he saw; his strong heart
72. carried the war within, by foot he ascended, the mountain he destroyed. Ahuni trusted to his numerous forces and came forth before me. Battle array he made. The weapons of Ašur, my lord, I directed into their midst.
73. Their overthrow I <sup>73</sup>accomplished. The heads of his warriors I cut off, with the blood of his fighting men I colored the mountain. Many of his (lit. his
74. many) fled hurriedly to the rocks of the mountain. A hard battle <sup>74</sup>I made in the midst of his city. Fear before the splendor of Ašur, my lord, overcame them, they descended and embraced my feet. Ahuni, with his forces,



75. ša KI-LAL. šú la šab-ta-at a-na pâni-ia ú-tê-ra<sup>189</sup> nâru Idiklat ú-šê-bir a-na âli-ia Aššûr ub-la a-na nišê mâti-ia am-nu-šú-nu. Ina šatti-ma ši-a-ti a-na mâtu Ma-za-ma-a al-lik ina ni-ri-bi
76. ša mâtu Bu-na-is-lu êru-ub a-na<sup>153</sup> âlâ-ni ša m. Nik-di-mê m. Nik-di-ê-ra<sup>189</sup> aḫ-tê-rib ištu pân na-mur-rat kakkê-ia dannûtê u taḫâzi-ia šit-mu-ri ip-la-ḫu-ma
77. ina êlippê<sup>189</sup> ur-ba-tê a-na tâm-di it-tab-ku ina êlippê mašak taḫ-ši-ê arkatê šu-nu lu-aš-bat taḫâzu dan-nu ina ḳabal tâm-di lu êpu-uš abikta-šu-nu lu aš-kun
78. tâm-di ina<sup>155</sup> dâ-mê-šu-nu kîma na-pa-si lu aš-ru-up. Ina li-mê m. ilu Dân-Ašûr ina<sup>156</sup> araḫ Airi ûm XIV ištu<sup>189</sup> alu Ninua at-tu-muš nâru Idiklat ê-tê-bir a-na âlâ-ni
79. šá m. Gi-am-mu nâru Kaš-šat-a aḫ-tê-rib pul<sup>157</sup> ḫa-at bêlu-ti-ia na-mur-rat kakkê-ia iz-zu-tê ip-la-ḫu-ma ina kakkî ra<sup>189</sup> ma-ni-šu-nu m. Gi-am-mu bêl-šu-nu
80. i-du-ku a-na<sup>189</sup> alu Kit-la-la u alu Til-šá-tur-a-ḫi lu êru-ub ilâni-ia ana êkallâtê-šu lu ú-šê-ri-ib ta-ši-il-tu ina êkallâtê-šu lu aš-kun
81. na-kan-tê-šu<sup>158</sup> lu ap-ti ni-šir-tú-šú lu a-mur<sup>159</sup> ŠA-GA-šu bušâ-šu aš-lu-la a-na âli-ia Aššûr ub-la ištu<sup>189</sup> alu Kil-la-la at-tu-muš a-na<sup>189</sup> alu Kar-Šulmânû-ašarêd
82. aḫ-tê-rib ina êlippê mašak taḫ-ši-ê ša šanî-tê šanîti nâru Purâta ina mê-li<sup>189</sup> ša ê-bir ma-da<sup>189</sup> tu šá<sup>189</sup> šarrâni ša šêpa am-ma-tê šá<sup>189</sup> nâru Purâti ša<sup>160</sup> m. Sa-an-gar
83. alu Gar-ga-miš-a-a ša m. Ku-un-da<sup>189</sup> aš-pi alu Ku-mu-ḫa-a-a ša m. A-ra<sup>189</sup> mê apal Gu-si ša<sup>189</sup> m. Lal-li alu Mê<sup>161</sup> li-da-a-a ša m. Ḫa-ia-ni apal Ga-ba-ri
84. ša<sup>162</sup> m. Ḳal-pa-ru-da mâtu Pa-ti-na-a-a šá m. Ḳal-pa-ru-da mâtu Gam-gu-ma<sup>163</sup> a-a kaspâ ḫurâša anâku<sup>164</sup> siparra diḫârê siparri
85. alu (ina)<sup>164</sup> Ašûr-ut-tir-aš-bat ša šêpu am<sup>165</sup> tê<sup>166</sup> ša nâru Purâtu ša êlî nâru Sa-gu-ri<sup>189</sup> ša amêlê<sup>167</sup> mâtu Ḫat-ta-a-a alu Pi-it-ru
86. i-ḫa-bu-šu-ni ina lib-bi am-ḫur ištu êlî nâru Purâtu at-tu-muš a-na<sup>189</sup> alu Ḫal-man aḫ-tê-rib ta-ḫa-za ê-du-ru šêpê-ia<sup>168</sup> iṣ-bu-tú
87. kaspâ ḫurâša ma-da-ta-šu-nu am-ḫur immeru níké ana pân ilu Rammâni ša<sup>189</sup> alu Ḫal-man êpu-uš ištu alu Ḫal-man at-tu-muš a-na<sup>169</sup> âlâ-ni
88. šá m. Ir-ḫu-li-ê-ni mâtu A-mat-a-a aḫ-tê-rib alu A-di-ên-nu alu Bar-ga-a alu Ar-ga-na-a âl šarrû-ti-šu akšû-ud šal-la-su bušâ-šu
89. ŠA-GA êkallâtê-šu ú-šê-ša-a a-na êkallâtê-šu išâti ad-di<sup>170</sup> ištu alu Ar-ga-na-a at-tu-muš a-na alu Kar-ḫa<sup>189</sup> ra aḫ-tê-rib
90. alu Kar-ḫa-ra âl šarrû-ti-šu<sup>171</sup> ab-bul aḫ<sup>189</sup> ḫur ina išâti aš-ru-up I M. II C narkabâte I M. II C bit-ḫal-lu x x M. šâbê<sup>172</sup> šá Hadad-ʾidri
91. [ša\* mâtu] Imêri-šu VII C narkabâtê VII C bit-ḫal-lu x M. šâbê ša m. Ir-ḫu-li<sup>189</sup> ê-ni mâtu A-mat-a-a II M. narkabâtê x M. šâbê ša m. A-ḫa-ab-bu

<sup>164</sup> See corrections.<sup>165</sup> "am" doubtless omitted.

\* Cf. Lay. Inscript., p. 16, l. 44, "Hadadidri ša mât," etc.

75. chariots, riding horses, goods of their palace, <sup>75</sup>whose weight was not taken, before me I brought back, caused to cross over the Euphrates (and) to my city Aššur I brought (them). To the inhabitants of my land I reckoned them.
76. In the same year to the land of Mazamua I went. In the pass <sup>76</sup>of the land of Bunaislu I entered; to the cities of Nikdimê, Nikdiêra I advanced. Before the brilliancy of my mighty weapons and my raging battle they became afraid
77. and <sup>77</sup>in ships of wickerwork (withes) they betook (turned) themselves to the sea. In ships of lamb-skins I followed them, (lit. took their rewards). A hard battle in the middle of the sea I made. Their overthrow I accomplished.
78. <sup>78</sup>The sea with their blood I colored as wool. In the archonship of Dânašur, in the month Ijjar, on the 14th day, I departed from the city of Nineveh.
79. The Tigris I crossed (and) to the cities of Giammu on the river Kaššata I advanced. The fear of my dominion, the brilliancy of my mighty weapons filled them with fear (or terrified them). With their own weapon(s) they put
80. to death Giammu, their governor. To the city of Kitlala and Tilšaturâhi I entered. My gods I brought into his palace; a festival in the palace I made.
81. <sup>81</sup>His store-house I opened, his treasures I saw, his possessions I carried off, to my city Aššur I brought (them). From the city of Kitlala I departed. To
82. the city Kar-Salmaneser <sup>82</sup>I advanced. In ships of lamb-skins the second time, the Euphrates, in high water, I crossed. The tribute of the kings
83. beyond the Euphrates, (viz.) Sangar, the Charchemisian, Kundaspi, the Kumuhean, Arame, the son of Gusu, Lalli of Mytilene, Hajani, the son of
84. Gabaru, <sup>84</sup>Kalparuda, the Patinian, Kalparuda, the Gamgumean, silver, gold,
85. lead, copper, copper vessels, in\* <sup>85</sup>the city of Ašurûtirašbat which is beyond the river Euphrates, which is above the river Saguri, which the Hittites† call
86. the city of Pêthor, within it, I received.‡ From above the river Euphrates I departed. To the city of Halman§ I advanced, they avoided battle, they
87. embraced my feet. <sup>87</sup>Silver, gold, their tribute I received. Sacrifices to the god Ramman of the city of Halman I made. From the city of Halman I
88. departed. <sup>88</sup>To the cities of Irhuliêna of the land of Hamath, I advanced. The city of Adiênu, the city of Barga, the city of Arganâ, his royal city, I took.
89. His spoil, his possessions, <sup>89</sup>his goods I brought forth out of his palace (and) I set the palace on fire. From the city of Argana I departed. To the city of
90. Karkar I advanced. <sup>90</sup>The city of Karkar, his royal city, I destroyed, devastated (and) burnt with fire. One thousand two hundred chariots, one thou-

\* See transcription and corrections. The writer changed the order evidently of "ina âli" to "âlu ina" by mistake.

† Lit. "men of the land of Chatti."

‡ Sentence complicated by the explanatory phrases: briefly = "I received the tribute of the kings beyond the Euphrates within the city Ašurûtirašbat."

§ i. e., Aleppo. Del. PD. 275.

|| Nom. gentil.

92. mātu Sir-'a-la-a-a v C šâbê šá<sup>189</sup> māt<sup>u172a</sup> Gu-a-a i M. šâbê ša māt<sup>u</sup> Mu-uš-ra<sup>189</sup>-a-a  
X narkabâtê x M. šâbê ša māt<sup>u</sup> Ir-ka-na-ta-a-a
93. ii C šâbê ša m. Ma<sup>178</sup>-ti-nu-ba-'a-li<sup>189</sup> âlu Ar-ma-da-a-a ii C šâbê ša māt<sup>u</sup> Ú-sa-  
na-ta-a-a XXX narkabâtê ?<sup>174</sup> M. šâbê
94. ša m. A-du-nu-ba-'a-li<sup>189</sup> māt<sup>u</sup> Ši-a<sup>175</sup>-na-a-a i M. imêru gam-ma-lu ša m. Gi-in-  
di-bu-'a māt<sup>u</sup> Ar-ba-a-a . .<sup>8</sup> cm. . ? M. šâbê
95. ša m. Ba-a'-sa apal Ru-ḥu-bi māt<sup>u</sup> A-ma-na-a-a XII šarrâni an-nu-ti a-na nirâ-  
rû-ti-šu il-ka-a a-na<sup>176,177</sup> [ê-piš]
96. kabla u taḥâza ana irti-ia it-bu-ni ina idâti šîrâti šá<sup>189</sup> Ašûr bêlu iddi<sup>177</sup>-na ina  
kakkê dannûti ša ilu<sup>178</sup> Urugallu a-lik pâni-ia
97. iš-ru-ka it-ti-šu-nu am-daḥ-ḥi-iš ištu âlu Kar-ka-ra a-di âlu Gil-za-ú abik-ta-  
šu-nu lu aš-kun xiv M. šâbê
98. ti<sup>179</sup>-du-ki-šu-nu ina kakkê u-šam-kit kîma ilu Rammân êlî-šu-nu ri-ḥi-il-ta  
ú-ša-az-nin<sup>180</sup> ú-ma<sup>181</sup>-ši<sup>182</sup> šal<sup>183</sup>-mat-šu-nu
99. pa-an na-mê-ê ú-šam-li<sup>189</sup> rapšâtê ummânâtê-šu-nu ina kakkê ú-šar-di dâmê-  
šu-nu ḥar-pa-lu ša-na-gu?
100. i-mê-iš šêri ana še<sup>184</sup>-tar<sup>185</sup> napšâtê-šu nap<sup>186</sup>-ra-ru ú-rap<sup>187</sup>-šu a-na du-pu-ri-  
šu-nu aḥ(iḥ?)-li-iḥ ina \*pagrâni-šu-nu<sup>188</sup>
101. nâru A-ra<sup>189</sup>-an-tu kîma<sup>188</sup> ti-i-ri ak-šud ina ki-riḥ tam-ḥa-ri šú-a-ti narkabâtê-  
šu-nu bit-ḥal-la-šu-nu
102. sîsê-šu-nu šimd-at i<sup>189</sup> ni-ri-šu-nu ê-kim-šu-nu

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\* The sign "be" (mit) doubtless to be supplied after "amêlu." Three cm. are broken out.

91. sand two hundred riding horses, twenty thousand soldiers of Benhadad <sup>91</sup>of Damascus, seven hundred chariots, seven hundred riding horses, ten thousand soldiers of Irhuliena of Hamath, two thousand chariots, ten thousand soldiers
92. of Ahab <sup>92</sup>of Israel, five thousand soldiers of the Guians, one thousand soldiers of the Egyptians, ten chariots, ten thousand soldiers of the Irkanateans;
93. <sup>93</sup>two thousand soldiers of Matninbâ'al of the Arvadites, two hundred soldiers of the Usanations, thirty chariots, ten\* thousand soldiers of <sup>94</sup>Aduni-bâ'al of the Sianians, one thousand camels of Gindibû' of the Arbeans . . . .
95. ten thousand soldiers <sup>95</sup>of Bâ'sa, the son of Ruḥribi, of the Amaneans (Amonites?): these *twelve*† kings came to his aid. To make war<sup>96</sup> and battle they came forth before me. In the high power which Ašur the lord bestowed,
97. with the powerful weapons which Nergal who goeth before me <sup>97</sup>presented, I fought with them. From the city of Karkar to the city of Gilzan I accomplished their overthrow. Fourteen thousand <sup>98</sup>of their warriors with the weapons I brought low. Like the god Ramman upon them an inundation I
99. poured out, (I) scattered their corpses. The <sup>99</sup>face of the plain I filled with their numerous troops. With the weapons I made their blood to flow over
100. the extent of the field. To preserve their (his, its) lives they increased confusion (viz. by flight)? After them I rushed. Upon their dead bodies <sup>101</sup>the river Orontes, like a bridge, I crossed.‡ In the same battle their chariots, their riding horses, their horses trained to the yoke, I took from them.

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\* Mon. 10 ? ? See cor.

† Only *eleven*!

‡ Might mean "arrive at." Kašādu has both meanings of attain and overcome.

## NOTES.

1. *ilu An û šar*, etc.—Just as Anu is here mentioned as the king of the Igige and Anunnaki do we find, II R. 66, No. 1, 5, Bêltis as the uršânât Igigê, i. e., the powerful (goddess) of the Igigê. Similarly, II R. 66, 3, Bêltis is the “li’at Igigê,” and I R. 9, 3, the god Bêl is the šar gimir *ilu Anunnaki*, i. e., “king of all the Anunnaki;” V R. 51, 27, Merodach is the “pâkidu rabû ša Igigê,” i. e., “Merodach, the great overseer (ruler) of the Igigê.” The rule over these spirits of the lower and upper regions seems thus not to have been the special prerogative of any one of the higher deities, but was exercised by all the higher determining deities, which, according to K. 4629, Str. 95, were *seven* in number: “ilâni šînâti sibittišunu.” The same fragment mentions the “ilâni rabûti” (great gods) as five in number, “hamšatšunu.” The Igigê seem to be confined to the upper regions, whereas the Anunnaki, as appears from the above quoted fragment, are mentioned both of heaven, “ša šamê” (five in number) and of earth, “ša iršiti.”

*mušîm*.—II., שִׂים I. to place, appoint; II. determine. šîmâti pl. of šîmtu lot, destiny. The same appellative is given to Merodach, I R. 67, i. 7.

2. *mûšîr*.—II., from אָנַר ? enclose, surround. Cf., for the form, u-di-lu from (אָנַר) êdêlu bolt, fasten, from which we have mêdilum, II R. 23, 34d; mêdil, IV R. 17, 8a, and mêdilutum (II R. 23, 22c, d) hinge.

êšûrât.—From the same stem and with the same meaning as ušûrtu, Sarg. St. In., where we read, “ša êpšit kâtî’a unakkaruma . . . ušûrât êšêru ušamsakûma” *whoever the work of my hands changes, the boundaries I fixed removes*, etc. The same evil invocation occurs in the Bronze Ins., but with êšurât instead. The root-meaning of the word is “enclosure,” “bound” in general, and then more specifically, perhaps, “wall,” Lyon, “Mauer.” Cf. the phrase, V R. 65, 1, 7, where Nabonidus calls himself the “muššîr (u)ššurâti bitât ilâni” *the one who built (enclosed) the walls of the temples*.

*niklâtê*.—Pl. from nikiltu *cunning, craft*, נִכְל; cf. Heb. נִכְל. Cf. with this line, and particularly for the restoration of rabû niklâtê, Sarg. Cyl. 47, “ša ina kibîti šar apšê bêl nimêki tašimta zunnunûma malû niklâtê” *which by order of the king of the abyss, the lord of wisdom, was made full of decision* (v. “Proleg.” v. 73). Here we have malû corresponding to the supplied “rabû,” and, at the same time confirmation of the correctness of the reading nik-la-ti.

*ilu Na-nir*.—With this reading one great difficulty of this inscription is removed. We have now the number of gods, seven, as is to be expected, and the unknown god (see No. a) of Rawl. disappears. It is another reading for the more commonly occurring appellative of the god Sin, viz., Nannaru, e. g., V R. 64, 1, 17; in the bilingual hymn in IV R. 9, etc., where it stands as an attribute of the god Sin. Here it stands alone for Sin. Sm. As. 126, 8: “ilu Sin na-an-nir šamê u iršiti.” Lenorm. “Lettres Assyr.,” Tom. II., p. 123, we read the same word as in No. 6.

3. muštêšir.—III<sub>2</sub>, from root ישר *to be straight*, III<sub>2</sub> rule.

mêlulta.—Fem. from root מלל; mêlultu *decision, command*; cf. Heb. מלל *to speak*. See also the same word I R. 7, IX. D., where Schrader reads mênarti; Sayce, mêlulti, but derives from אלל.

râ'imût.—For this writing of the sign râ'mu see Asum., I., 37, where both forms, given in No. C, are found.

4. šâpirûti.—See corrections and cf. Asum., I., 42, " . . . ana pêli šuknušê u šapâri aggiš umâ'irûni," also l. 14 of Mon. below. Root שפר *to send, dispatch*, III. rule. Šâpirûtu here means "rule"\* and the whole phrase seems to be best translated as I have given it. This translation rests upon a different reading from that in the text, viz., upon the reading muḥ-ḥur (instead of u n a p-ḥ a r) which seemed to me, when I copied it, the more natural decipherment of the remaining traces of the broken sign. The whole passage is exceedingly difficult; and as the reading of the above sign is doubtful, I avoid further comment. Sayce's translation, "who extend lordship over multitudes and union, the glory of my fame, empire, and all princes mightily have they made for me," seems to miss the sense entirely, and to overlook the derivation of the words as well as the grammatical construction.

5. Šulmânu-ašarêdu.—This reading rests on the writing of the name found in the Babylonian chronicle given by Mr. Pinches, PSBA. '84, 198, where the successor of Tiglath-pileser is given as Šul-man-a-ša-rid. See for detailed discussion Prof. Schrader's article in ZKF., II. Bd., 197 sqq., also ZÄ., Bd. I., p. 126 seq. The writing here is defective, probably owing to the scribe. The sign "di" = Šulmu, Sb. 186 (Del. ALss.), is here omitted; the full reading is found in Lay., 12:1, etc.

6. murtêdû.—Part. I<sub>2</sub> from root ררה, I. *tread, march*; I<sub>2</sub> *go* (for one's self); *rule, govern*. A frequent phrase. Cf. Sh. Phul, I R. 32, 28, "murtêdû kâlîš mâtâtê."

ba'ît.—Root בעה.

amêru.—Part. I. אמר *see, look*. Sayce translates "'ruler' of roads and lord of streets" here. It is simply a poetic use of the word "to see" in the sense of surmounting, overcoming. Cf. Khors. 15, where, speaking of the mountains, he (Sargon) says, "nêribšunu . . . upattîma âmura durugšun" *their entrances (or interior) I opened up and their paths I looked upon (saw)*. Oppert translates âmur falsely by "âmovi."

7. i-gi-si-ê.—The meaning "tribute," "present," etc., seems clear from the parallel passages, in which mandattu occurs with biltu, or madattu =

\* For the meaning of šapâru, apart from the argument from contexts, see ASKT. p. 15, No. 196. See d, = ša-pa-ru 195, = ta-a-ru, p. 23, 247. See e, = ta-a-ru, 473. See f, = ta-a-ru 474 = a-pa-lu = "subdue" (from which âpilu *master of the house*), and lastly V R. 39; 30 d, where the sign (which above = ta-a-ru = a-pa-lu) = 'ûrû *lead, guide*.

mandantu, from nadânu to *give*, e. g., l. 23, and repeatedly in Tig. I. The present phrase “biliti ũ igisê” occurs also in Salm. Ob. 106, where Salmaneser reports having received from twenty-four kings of the land of Tabali igišunu. In the inscription of Sh. Phul, I R. 32, 37, we have, “Salmaneser . . . mâr Ašûrnâširpal mâhir biliti u igisî ša kâliš kibrâtî.” So also Nebuchad., I R. 60, 35 sqq., after narrating his capture of prisoners, his reception of gold, silver, pearls, palm and cedar wood, the product of mountain and sea, he adds, “ipti kabitti igisâ šummuḥu ana . . . Bâbili ušêrib” *a rich gift, a magnificent* (lit. *prosperous*, שׁמח *thrive, prosper*) *present* . . .” In the parallel passage, Lay., 12, 3, below, we have, *word for word*, the same as here in lines 7 and 8; but there we have perhaps “ši + di” (see g.) instead of “igisê.” Dr. H. Zimmern, in his excellent work “Babylonische Busspsalmen,” etc., p. 105, 60, in arguing for the value “pik” for the sign (see i) refers to this passage and also to Mon. 1, 7, viz., the passage before us, where, he says, ši[pik] “wohl zu lesen ist.” It will be seen by referring to “correction” number 9, that “ši” before ũ is erased, and, as I remember, quite deeply. That “ši” is erased is proof sufficient that no emendation is here admissible.\*

8. mupattû.—Part. II. from פתח *open*. Cf. I R. 10, 86, “mupitti durug šadâni” *opener of the road* (through) *mountains*. Cf. II R. 22, for derivatives.

tûdâtê.—Pl. from tûdu *way*. Syn. of ḥarrânu and girru, according to K. 4195 (Prof. Del. Lect., W. S. '85). This word forms its pl. also tûdê, e. g., cf. Sanh. IV., 4, etc.

ultanapšaka = uštanapšaka (according to the rule of Assyrian pronunciation, the sibilant passes over into the liquid *l* before the dentals; cf. also riḫiltu = riḫistu *heavy rain, deluge*; altu for aštu = aššatu = anšatu, etc., etc.). Root פשק from which we have the adjectives pašku and šupšuku *steep, difficult*, etc. ultanapšaka is a Shafel (III.) reflexive form with “tan,” Pres. pl. 3 f. To denote it as an “Iftaneal of the Shafel” is inexact (cf. Pognon, “L'inscription de Bay.,” 204).

9. iḫîlû.—I. from חיל *shake, tremble*. From this root also comes the well-known ḥâlîti *Sintfluth*, 124, ALs., “imtaḥṣu kîma ḥâltu.” Cf. חִלָּה, Jer. iv. 21.† See, now, Del. Proleg.

10. istamdaḥu.—īstamdaḥu = ištandaḥu = ištanádaḥu, from root שרח *to go about*, 13. Impf. 3 s. Note also the Inf. const. of the same form in I R. 46; IV, 59, “ana šitmur sîsê šitamduḥ narkabâtê” *for the keeping of the horses, for the movement of the wagons*. From this stem also comes mašdaḥu, syn. of sûku. V R. 8, 98.‡

\* To be noted, however, in this question is IV R. 3, 36a, where, according to Hommel, ZKF. Bd. I. 168, “igi” was originally “igîš” (?).

† See Halevy, ZKF., Bd. I. 262 seq.

‡ Cf. also Budge, Esarh. II. 6, 11, “šadê maršûtê rêmâniš aštamdih” *difficult mountains like a wild bull I traversed*.

12. kûn [libbi]-šu.—kûn: st. c. from kûnu *fixedness, fidelity*. In the sense of fixedness, durability, in frequent use, e. g., Neb. Borsip., I R. 51; II, 21, “kûn kussê labâri palê” *a stable (stability of) throne, long reign*. So also I R. 52, 4, 18, in a similar passage, “kûn kussi ũ labâr palê.” kûnu in sense of fidelity is of frequent occurrence with libbu *heart*, (see I R. 8, No. 6, 5); and consequently I have supplied libbi here, for which the break in the inscription offers about sufficient space. Cf. Asarh., I R. 47, VI, 32, “ilâni šâtunu ina kûn libbi-šunu iktârabû šarrûti’a” *the same gods in the fidelity of their heart favor my rule* (sovereignty); Tig. I, VII, 46, “ša Ašûr . . . ina utût kûn libbišû iḥṣuḥma ana rê’ût . . . ibbâšu.” Cf. also I R. 8, VI, 4 and 5, with this last, “ilu zar-pa-ni-tum bi-bil? ku-un libbi ilu Nabû u Marduk.”

12. uddâ.—Probably II. form from ידע (idû) *know, recognize*. uddâ would then equal the obsolete original \*yujaddi’a, just as we have in the Shafel III. ušêšâ = jušêši’a from âšû (יא), išmâ I. (שמע) = \*jašmi’a *he heard*, etc., etc.

upirra.—See corrections. Assuming the correctness of my reading, this would seem to be an irregular II. form from apâru *to cover*. The regular form would be uppir, like uššib, from ašâbu. The form upirra would more naturally refer to a root pâru (פור). Such a root exists with the meaning “to be strong,” etc., from which we have pâru *wild ox*, and the fem. pârtu; but this meaning does not suit in our passage, though the form could well be compared with upîra, like ukîn from kânu (כון). In Tig. I., col. I., 21, we read in a similar passage the pl. form of the II. form from apâru, “agâ šîra tupirrâšû ana šarrût mât Bêl rabêš tukinâšû.” The form, however, does not favor my reading. Notice, however, here the form êtabru for êtêbiru, Asurn. III., 27.

14. Cf. here Asurn. I., 42, “. . . . ḥuršâni dannûtê ana pêli šuknušê u šapâri aggiš umâ’irani” *mighty mountains to overcome, to subject and to subdue, he sternly commanded me*.

aggiš.—Adverb, from a root אגג *be fierce, angry*.

umâ’iranni.—II. from איר 3 s. m.

16. asibî.—From (שבה) šabû *oppress, attack, overcome*.

asibî = astibî = aštibî.—I. Prt. 1 s. The regular form would be aštabî, the vowel of the second syl. due to the final long “i” and the loss of the reflexive “t.” This, however, uncommon.

asîtu.—This word occurs in the singular in Col. I., ll. 25, 34, 48. The plural occurs twice, in lines 53 and 54 of Col. II., and in both as asîtâtê. Another form is found in Asurnaz., the sing., as isîtu (var. a), Col. I., 90 (isîtê, i. e., Genitive), and the pl., as isîtâti, l. 109. The reading a-sa-ia-tê, I R. 14, 27, points to a long vowel in the second syllable. That the meaning “pillar,” “column” is approximately correct is not only clear from the context, but also from the passage in Tig. I. above, where the a-sa-ia-te of the great wall was built



of brick. Is the representation on the bronze gates of Balawat, wherein appear to be four upright posts, apparently quite a good deal larger, or at least as high, as a middle-sized man, upon which is represented ten heads, four to be seen on the two outside ones and one on each of the two in the middle (according to my own drawing), not instructive here? \* These posts could easily be covered with the skins, as in the inscriptions it is narrated, and by the insertion of spikes the heads could be fastened on. Close to this representation on the bronze gates is another gibbeted with outstretched legs upon a slender pole (probably the "zakpu"); the hands and feet lie at the bottom. Asumnazirpal, I., 89, tells us that, having built an "asîtu," he flayed the insurrectionists and covered it with their skins; some he walled within it, some upon it he gibbeted, and with others (in a zikîpê) on gibbets (spikes) he surrounded the asîtu. These large posts, together with the heads, seem to me to be the asîâtâtê, the single spike-like stake on which the accompanying figure is gibbeted to the zakpu, and the board-like stick upon which victims were impaled with the head bent forward and the hands hanging down, the body being perforated from the abdomen, representations of which are to be seen in the British Museum, appears to me to be the gašîšu upon which the corpses were hung. Cf. V R. 9, 123, "pagrâni ina gašîši alul;" also V R. II. 3. In view of this representation, as well as the passages referred to, and others similar, where it is specifically said, "I hung their corpses upon gašîšê, Dr. Haupt's rendering of gašîšû as "boat-hook" does not appear to me tenable.

17. batûlu *young man*.—For the ideog. see V R. 42, 55, e, f, where "lû" is to be restored.

batûltu.—The fem. of batûlu. See line 56 of the same page, also line 61. Cf. Heb. בתולה.

maḵlûtu.—From a root קלה to burn, with prefixed מ.

usbakûni.—Derivation uncertain. Schrader refers to יצב.

18. šimdat.—Fem. const. from šimittu = šimidtu = span; from šamâdu to span together. The sign is = šamâdu (ASKT. 745), also = sarâdu. Cf. Sanh. v. 30, šindusu, and for the same writing as here, Asum. III. 21, and also Sanh. Tayl. VI. 50, for the derivative našmadu. In II R. 27, 24, a, b, we have "šamâdu ša narkabtu." Cf. for the signs IS.IS the parallel II. 102, "šimdat nîrišunu," also Asum. I. 86.

19. attumuš.—Pinches and others read attusir. But see the readings at-tum-ša, I R. 25, 101; 26, 109; 22, 91. In the latter at-tu (var. tum)-ša. Better derived from אמש to break up. Cf. Heb. אָמֵשׁ evening.

šêlûtu point, top.—Here st. c. fr. šêlûtu, אלה with prefixed ש.

paṭri.—Gen. fr. paṭru dagger. פטר split, open.

\* On another is a double row of heads eight in number.

šaknû.—Perm. I. 1, 3 pl., fr. šakânu.

agullat.—The sign given No. j is probably an ideog. for aggulatu. Cf. II. 42, where aggulat is phonetically written. As (see k.) ša = šiknu and (see l.) gul = Sb 338, abātu *destroy*, the two together could well mean “instrument of destruction.”

20. aḫtêrib.—Impf. I. 1, I. S. from ḫarâbu *approach*, with change of the reflexive “t” into “ṭ” (i. e. resp. ת and ט) after the ק.

21. namurrat.—St. c. from namûrratu, from stem נמר *to be bright, brilliant*. Of this, however, I am not certain. We find the writing, Bal. Gates, Col. III, l. 3, na-am (var. nam) ru-rat, which can be most readily traced to the stem מרר *to be bitter*, as the stat. c. from namrurtu. In II R. 35, 5, nam-ri-ir-ru = ša-ra-ru from נמר *to be clear, bright, shine*.

22. pulḫî.—Pl. from pulḫu *fear*, from a root פלח *to be afraid*.

23. urdûni.—Impf. I. from urr arâdu. Cf. Heb. ירר.

25. limîtu.—למה *surround*.

27. tanittu = tanidtu *excellence, loftiness*, from nâdu *to be great, high, majestic*. From a root נאר. The same as tanattu.

39. ušâlik.—III. from אלך *go*; III. I caused to go.

44. irti.—Gen. s. fr. irtu *breast*. ארע *to go against*. Cf. maḥru *front*, from maḥâru *to advance, meet*.

46. ḫirišê.—Gen. of ḫirišu *ditch*, from ḫarâšu *dig*, etc.

ušaznin.—III. from zanânu *rain*, III. *cause to rain, pour out*.

49. narbut.—From רבה *to be great, greatness* in the sense of majesty. Cf. II R. 65, 1, Rev. 50, a, where we find “ta-na-ti mâtu Aššûr lidlulu.” Cf. IV. 61, No. 1, 39, “narbîka li(id-lu-la) kâl dadme” *may all lands be subject to this greatness*. IV R. 66, 61, a, f, “ludlul nirbîka luttâ'id ilûtka nišê ali'ia lišêpa ḫurdika *may he be subject to thy greatness, may he exalt thy divinity, may the people of my city cause thy strength (bravery) to shine*, etc. Cf. Zimmern “Buss-Ps.” 97, and Haupt, ASKT., p. 121, Rückseite, l. 2, “narbî tanâtika nišu lidlulâ.”

50. ilkakât.—Perhaps a Pilel form fr. alâku. Note also the form “alkakâtu,” Neb. Bors. I. 4. Cf. also the forms urnintu, irnintu, from a root ארן, urnatu = kiššu from a root כשש *to be strong*.

51. ušêziz.—III. 1 p. s. of nazâzu (נזז) *put, place*, from which stem man-zazu *place*.

êtêbir.—I. 1, from êbêru *to cross over*. Cf. Heb. עבר. Note the writings “ê-tê-ib-bi-ru,” Sarg. Cyl. 11; cf. Beh. 35, and also “ê-tab-ru,” Asum. III. 27, and the III. form “u-šê-bi-ra,” Sanh. Tayl. IV. 32.

#### COL. II.

2. uparrir.—II. 1 s., from a root פרר *to break*. Heb. פרר.

7. mêšêriš.—Adverb formed from the noun mêšêru, from the root ישר *to be straight, right*. Cf. Asum. I. 22, “šarru ša ina tukulti Ašur u Šamaš . . .

mêšêriš ittalakuma;” see also III. 128. Note also the form “išartu,” Neb. II., IV. 19; I. 45, etc. Bors. I. 14.

šaltîš.—Likewise adverb from a root שלט *plunder, carry off*.

16. mašak.—St. c. from mašku *skin, hide*.

taḥšê.—Gen. from taḥšu. Cf. the Heb. עור תחש and see Prof. Fried. Delitzsch in Baer-Del. “Ezechiel,” p. xvii, and Del. “Proleg.” Note also the writing Asurn. III. 64.

21. šitmuri.—Gen. from šitmuru *boisterous, raging*. An I<sub>2</sub> form from a root שמר *to be boisterous*.

23. The sign “𐎶𐎵” Sb 66 = êdu IV R. 19, 46/47 (AL.<sup>3</sup> 54) = êštin. Note also K. 4604, or V R. 12, 31, where it = pi-du(u).

24. šattišamma, i. e., šattišama.—The adverb šattiš from šattu = šantu *year*, with affixed “ma,” which has a generalizing force. Also written “šattišam.”

25. x.—Bê.\*

31. attabalkat.—IV<sub>2</sub> Impf. I s. from the quadriliteral stem בלכת *rend in pieces, go forward, pass over, also revolt*.

33. ibbalkit.—IV. from same.

34. addî.—Impf. I. I s. from נדה (nadû) *throw, to lay, etc.*

37. ina tarši.—A compound prepositional phrase = *at the time of, also when*. “taršu,” from “tarāšu” *to put or place straight, direct*. More strictly speaking, it would seem as if “during the reign of” (Haupt, “Nachrichten v. Kön. Gesellschaft,” etc., ’83, No. 4, p. 95) were more exact. The sign employed (No. n) is the equivalent of “êtillu” *lord*, Sb 130, of “malku” *prince*, II R. 26, 15, e, of “šarru” V R. 16, 7a, and of “tarāšu,” V R. 31, 64, e. (Note the reading in I. 63, “it-ta-in-ra-aš.”) See ZKF. II. 106.

40. lubulti = lubušti.—Like “riḥiltu” for “riḥištu,” etc. From a root לבש *clothe*. “lubulti birmê” = *woven stuff, better than variegated stuff (cloth)*, as I have translated II. “burrumu” = *weave*.

\* The meaning of these signs I do not know; but to be noted is II R. 62, 66, g, h, from which it follows that this sign = “imêru” (cf. Aram. 𐎶𐎵 *trestle, pedestal of a column*). In this list we have given the different parts of a vessel,—“kakkaru,” “šdu,” “karnu,” “šilu,” “igāru,” “kîš-kitti” (cf. Aram. 𐎶𐎵), and then “imêru,” followed by “markasu,” “dimmu,” “arkatu,” etc. The sign “bê” could mean *large or finished*, according to ASKT. 13, 130 and 127 resp. (Cf. ALs., p. 86, small frag.,—or II R. No. 6, 47,—where “imêru” accompanies “kussû” *seat, throne*.) The words “imêri ēlippi” mean literally *ass of the ship*. So also Del. *Assyr. Stud.* Connected with the fact that the ass is proverbially the beast of burden, and that the sign is also used as a determinative before the words for horse, ox, etc., may it not be possible that this combination X+Bê may mean *finished (or wrought) prows* for such galleys as are represented on the bas-reliefs in the north-east corner of the Assyrian Department in the Louvre? The prows of these vessels are surmounted by the figure of a horse’s head, upon which, together with an upright in the stern of the vessel, part of the ship’s burden of logs is transported, while the remainder is towed behind. If this be so, the upright and horizontal wedges of the sign (corrections No. 90) would then be the usual “mê” = 100.

kitû *linen*. Cf. Arab. "kutun"? and for the reading of the ideog. see II R. 44, 7, g, h, etc.

50. mundaḥḥiṣê = mundaḥḥiṣê = muntaḥḥiṣê.—II. Part. pl. fr. מַחֵץ *strike, beat, etc.*

51. Ša-ga.—I have not ventured on a reading. Though in view of V R. 11, 38, 39, a, b, c, it would seem as if "ma-ak-ku-ri" were at least a possible reading. The last sign, however, in V R., as also in AL.<sup>3</sup> 127, 3b, is so uncertain as to leave us in doubt here. The oft-repeated "bušâšunu šallasunu namkuršunu" in Tig. I. would seem to favor the reading "makkuru." In Col. v. 52 and 61, however, we find "maršišunu" instead of "namkuršunu." The passage, Tig. II. 30, f, "rukḫê êri, v. nirmak siparri itti ilânišunu ḥurâši kaspi" and then the appositional or explanatory phrase with the verb "aššâ,"\* "dumuḫ namkurrišunu," would seem to point to a greater value ascribed to the "namkurri" than to the "šallasunu bušasunu," to which is added the verb "ušêša." For a discussion of the ideog. "ŠA-GA." see ZKF. II. 303, 4, where the author thinks that, if any transcription be admissible, it is that of "makkuru," reading "makkuru" in V R. 11, without any doubt.

55. kiššûti.—From a root כִּשַׁשׁ *to be strong*, from which we have the reduplicated adjective "kaškâšu"† *very strong*, like "dandânu."

60. urninti.—From a root אֲרַן *to be powerful*. "urnâtu" is a synonym of "kiššu," fr. the above root.

69. šadê.—Gen. of "šadû" *mountain*, from a root שָׂדָה, which V R. 28, 82, g, h, apparently gives as a syn. of "gablu" and "šakû" *high*. Halévy, ZKF. Bd. II. 306, would compare with the Aram. שָׂדָה *throw, project*, i. e., lengthwise. See Fried. Del., "Hebrew Language," and "Proleg."

75. KI-LAL.—The reading I do not know; but the meaning "weight" seems certain. In I R. 25, 66, we read "unût êkallêšu (note the reading as confirming correction) madûtê ša Ki-Lal lâ šab-ta-at;" 1. 75 the same. In K. 177, 10, we read "5 mana 50 šiklu ḥurâšu KI-LALšunu" = *five mana and fifty shekels their weight*. "Lal" (see q) alone = "šakâlu" *weigh*, Sb 145; but whether the ideog. "Ki-Lal" (see r) is to be explained by the same root I do not know.

77. urbatê.—V R. 47, I. 50, gives "urbatu" = "urbanu," with which cf. the Chaldee אֲרָבָא (and Syr. أَرْبَعَة) *willow, rush*, as distinguished from קִנִּיָּה *hart reed*.

ittabkû.—I<sub>2</sub>, pl. 3. m. from "abâku" *to turn* (אַפַּךְ).

81. nakanti.‡ = "nakamtu" from a root נָכַם *to heap up*, pl. "nakam-âtê."

\* *lifted up, gathered together*, as smaller, more precious articles could.

† I R. 36, No. 2, 2, etc.

‡ Also אֲרָבָא and אֲרָבָא

§ This change of m to n before the dentals and sibilants is frequent. Cf. in our text "mundaḥḥiṣu" = "muntaḥḥiṣu;" also the words "ṭênšu" = "ṭêmsu," "ḥanṭu" = "ḥamṭu," "tanšilu" = "tamšilu," "ḥanšâ" = "ḥamšâ."

86. iḳabûšuni.—“iḳábû” I. pres. pl. fr. קבא *speak, call*, etc.

99. ḥarpalu.—Derivation unknown. The meaning of this word, as well as of “imiš,” I have conjectured from the context. They appear to me to stand in the same construction, and certainly the meaning attached gives at least sense.

100. imiṣ.—Seems to be a st. con. from a noun “imṣu.” The reading “im-iṣṣir” (Schrader) seems *very* doubtful.

Šê-Tar.—I have thought may equal “šuzubu,” and “Napraru” I have referred to “parâru” \* *break*, etc., from which could come the idea of confusion, commotion.

urapšu.—Might be II. from a root רפש = “urappiṣu.”

duburi.—Seems to me *back*. See Zimmeru “Bab. Buss.” for stem “dapâru” which probably means “turn,” etc.

These last notes on 99 and 100 I have given only to explain the ideas which govern my translation of these difficult lines.

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\* Cf. “napharu” fr. פחר, “nalbašu,” fr. לבש, etc., etc.

# Corrections to M.R. pp. 7-8.

Abbrevs. pl. = plain, w. = wanting; n.w. = nothing wanting  
The numbers refer to the transliteration.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. [𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣] supplied from Obelisk, Lay. 87. 1 v 2.   | latter wedge on raised surface.                            |
| 2. 𐎠𐎡 = la, 2 <sup>a</sup> [𐎠𐎡] 1/2 emb. broken  | 30. '𐎠' R. w. 31. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 = ur-due.                            |
| 3. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 is separated, & 'na' as in nâdu l. 6.   | 32. '𐎠' R. w. 33. 𐎠𐎡𐎢. 34. 𐎠𐎡                              |
| 4. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 restored from traces.   | 35. 𐎠𐎡. 36. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 36 <sup>a</sup> '𐎠' w.                     |
| 5. [𐎠𐎡] no trace of 'ri' as in R.  | 37. '𐎠' R. erased. 38. 𐎠𐎡. 39. 𐎠.                          |
| 6. 𐎠 i.e. Sa. written on the round of the arm - hence the inclination. Not '𐎠' R. cf. Assm. I. 42. | 40. 𐎠 pl. also 𐎠. 41. 𐎠 sic!                               |
| 7. 𐎠𐎡. 8. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 = si   | 42. 𐎠𐎡 = 𐎠𐎡 43. 𐎠𐎡 sic! 44. n.w.                           |
| 8 <sup>a</sup> w. 9. 𐎠𐎡 erased.  | 45. 𐎠𐎡 pl 46. 𐎠𐎡𐎢... 𐎠𐎡𐎢.                                  |
| 10. 𐎠𐎡, 11. 𐎠.   | 47. [𐎠𐎡]. 48. 5 centimetres broken thus.                   |
| 12. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠. 13. 𐎠 w.   | 49. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠.   |
| 13 <sup>a</sup> 𐎠𐎡𐎢 The two upright wedges being on the raised part of figure                      | 50. 𐎠𐎡. 50 <sup>a</sup> 𐎠𐎡. 50 <sup>b</sup> [𐎠𐎡]. 51. 𐎠.   |
| 14. '𐎠' R. w. 15. 𐎠𐎡 = ra?   | 52. '𐎠' R. w. 53. 𐎠𐎡. 54. 𐎠𐎡 54 <sup>a</sup> 𐎠𐎡            |
| 16. 𐎠𐎡. 17. [𐎠𐎡𐎢].   | 55. 𐎠 pl. 56. n.w. 56 <sup>a</sup> 𐎠. 56 <sup>b</sup> 𐎠 w. |
| 18. 𐎠. 19. 𐎠 w.  | 57. 𐎠. 58. 𐎠𐎡. 59. '𐎠' w.                                  |
| 20. 𐎠𐎡 = 𐎠. 21. 𐎠𐎡. 22. 𐎠𐎡.  | 60. 𐎠𐎡. 60 <sup>a</sup> 𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎡. 61. [𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎡].                |
| 23. 𐎠𐎡 24. 𐎠𐎡.   | 62. 𐎠𐎡. 63. 𐎠𐎡. 64. n.w.                                   |
| 25. 𐎠𐎡. 26. 𐎠. 27. 𐎠𐎡 R. w.  | 65. 𐎠? 66. '𐎠' R. w. 67. 𐎠𐎡𐎢                               |
| 28. '𐎠' R. w. 29. 𐎠𐎡 𐎠 𐎠 the   | Col. II.   |
|  | 68. [𐎠𐎡] 𐎠 𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎡 cf. I. 47.                                |
|  | 69. 𐎠. 70. 𐎠? 71. 𐎠𐎡 = 𐎠𐎡.                                 |
|  | 72. 𐎠 73. pl. 74. 𐎠. 75. [𐎠𐎡].                             |
|  | 76. 𐎠𐎡. 77. 𐎠𐎡. 78. n.w.                                   |
|  | 79. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 80. 𐎠. 81. 𐎠.                                      |

82. 𐤁𐤅. 83. 𐤁𐤅 𐤓 𐤁. 84. 𐤁𐤅.	156. 𐤁. 157. 𐤁𐤅𐤍𐤍𐤍𐤍, 158 𐤁. 159. 𐤁𐤅.
85. 𐤁𐤅. 86. 𐤁. 87. 𐤁𐤅. 88. 𐤁𐤅? 𐤍.	160. 𐤁. 161. 𐤁 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅. 162. 𐤁.
89. 𐤓. 90. 𐤁𐤅. 91. 𐤁	163. 𐤁. 164. 𐤁 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅𐤍𐤍.
92. 𐤁. 93. 𐤁 𐤁. 94. 𐤁𐤅	165. 𐤁. 166. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅. v close to 𐤁𐤅.
95. 𐤁. 96. 𐤁𐤅. 97. 𐤁𐤅.	167. 𐤁𐤅. 168. 𐤁𐤅. 169. 𐤍' R.w.
98. 𐤁𐤅. 99. [𐤁𐤅] 1. Cent. broken.	170. 𐤁𐤅. 171. 𐤁. 172. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅. 172 <sup>2</sup> 𐤁.
100. 𐤁𐤅. 101. [𐤁𐤅 𐤁 𐤁].	173. 𐤁. 174. 𐤁 𐤁𐤅𐤍𐤍 𐤁. 175. 𐤁.
102. 𐤁𐤅? 103. 𐤁𐤅? 104. 𐤁𐤅: 𐤁. See also	176. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅. 177. 𐤁.
Prof. Delitzsch (Vorles?) 105. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁.	178. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅. 179. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅. 180. 𐤁𐤅.
106. 𐤁𐤅. 107. 𐤁. 108. 𐤁𐤅?	181. 𐤁. 182. 𐤁𐤅. 183. 𐤁𐤅
109. 𐤁𐤅. 110. 𐤁𐤅. 111. 𐤁𐤅	184. 𐤁𐤅. 185. 𐤁𐤅? 186. 𐤁𐤅.
112. 𐤁𐤅. 113. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅. 114. 𐤁	187. 𐤁𐤅, 188. 𐤁. 189. The usual form
115. 𐤁𐤅. 116. [𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅]. No traces of	of 'ra' is 𐤁𐤅, of 'an' 𐤁𐤅, of 'da' 𐤁𐤅, of
the sign in R. v Del. AL <sup>3</sup> No. 39 - Cf.	'ru' 𐤁𐤅, of 'sa' 𐤁𐤅 of 'ia' 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 of
I. 46, II. 98. 117 [𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅]. 118 𐤁.	'li' 𐤁𐤅.
119. 𐤁𐤅. 120. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅. 121. 𐤁𐤅.	
122. 𐤁𐤅. 123. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅.	
124. 𐤁𐤅. 125. 'X' R. w. 126. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 [𐤁𐤅].	
cf. l. 60. 127. [𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅].	
128. 𐤁𐤅? 129. 𐤁𐤅 = 𐤁𐤅 of l. 86.	
130. 𐤁𐤅. 131. '𐤁' R. w.	
132. 𐤁𐤅. 133. 𐤁. 134. 𐤁𐤅	
135. 𐤁𐤅. 136. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅. 137. [𐤁].	
138. 𐤁𐤅. 139. 𐤁. 140. 𐤁𐤅.	
141. 𐤁𐤅 n.w. 142. [𐤁]. 143. 𐤁.	
144. 𐤁𐤅. 145. 𐤁. 146. 𐤁𐤅.	
147. 𐤁𐤅. 148. 𐤁𐤅. 149. 𐤁𐤅.	
150. 𐤁𐤅. 151. 𐤁𐤅. 𐤁𐤅 Cic! Mr. Pinches	
153. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅. 154. 𐤁𐤅. 155. 𐤁 𐤁𐤅	
	Signs discussed in the Notes or cited in discussion.
	a. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅𐤍𐤍𐤍. b. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅
	c. 𐤁𐤅, 𐤁𐤅. d. 𐤁𐤅 var. 𐤁𐤅.
	e. 𐤁𐤅. f. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅.
	g. 𐤁𐤅. h. 𐤁𐤅. i. 𐤁.
	j. 𐤁𐤅. k. 𐤁.
	l. 𐤁𐤅. m. 𐤁𐤅.
	n. 𐤁𐤅.
	o. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 = 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅.
	p. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁𐤅.
	q. 𐤁. r. 𐤁𐤅 𐤁.

## TIKKUN SOPHERIM.

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There are various passages in the present Massoretic text of the Hebrew Bible which in the past have frequently been charged as willful alterations made by Jewish scribes in what may be called *the true original text*. These changes, it is contended, were intentionally made, in conformity with the traditional decrees of the ancient scribes, transmitted from generation to generation, for the purpose of removing certain objectionable anthropomorphic characteristics attributed to the person of Yahweh, which were shocking to the reverential spirit of a pious Israelite, and inconsistent with his exalted conception of the dignity, character and attributes of the deity; or, in other words, there were expressions in the *true original text* which the scribes deemed had a tendency to degrade or detract from the holy and supreme attributes of Yahweh. These, under the pious sanction of tradition, they deliberately altered, so as to bring the words of the Book into conformity with their religious ideas. Whether this indictment is sustained by the evidence is a question for students of biblical criticism to decide. It is the intention of this article simply to specify the particular passages thus arraigned, being prompted by the conviction that this specific branch of textual criticism has been hitherto unwarrantably neglected.

The emendations above referred to have, in Rabbinical lore, received the name of "Tikkun Sopherim" (תיקון סופרים) *corrections of the scribes*, and are eighteen in number, confined to no individual book or portion of the Old Testament, but occurring promiscuously throughout the whole body of the canon. Their complete enumeration is found carefully preserved among the compilations of the *Massorah Magna* and the *Ochlah W'Ochlah* (אכלה ואכלה), or alphabetic lists of Massoretic comments or notes. Mention is also frequently made of them in the numerous writings of the Rabbins, with, however, an apparent apologetic tone, or with a somewhat labored and almost superstitious attempt at their justification. This defensive position, during the middle ages, was in no small degree demanded by the writings of the celebrated Spanish orientalist, Raymond Martin<sup>1</sup> (1220—1287), who directly and publicly charged these emendations upon the Hebrew scribes as "willful corruptions and perversions introduced by them into the sacred text." As a fair illustration of the character and weight of these apologetics, we may cite the introduction to the Bomberg Rabbinical Bible of 1526, written by the eminent Jewish scholar, Jacob ben Chajim, of whom it may be

<sup>1</sup> Author of a work entitled *Pugio Fidei Christianae*, published in 1278, in which he shows great knowledge and familiarity with the writings and opinions of the Jews, and combats them with keen arguments drawn from the works of their own Rabbins.



truthfully said that, as an authority in Hebrew tradition and lore, he had no superior. A brief quotation must suffice. In refutation of the charge he says: "Thus it is that they (i. e., the Sopherim) made no willful changes. But if they (i. e., those making the charge) will persist in it in spite of what the Ga'on (i. e., Rabbi Nathan Ben Jachiel, 1030—1106, author of the celebrated lexicon *Aruch* ערוך), of blessed memory, says, we can repel them with the power of the argument as follows: Can any man believe that, if one intends to make willful alterations and changes, he would say, See what willful changes I have made, especially in the Prophets? Yet we find the Massorah declares, In five passages the Waw (ו) has been removed by the scribes (עטור סופרים), etc. Again, eighteen words are emendations of the scribes (תקון סופרים), etc. Now, if they had intended to make willful changes, they would surely not have proclaimed what they have changed and said, 'eighteen words are *Tikkun Sopherim* as given in the *Mechilta*' מכילתא a Midrashic exposition of Exod. xii.—xxxv. 3, composed in the first century A. D.). Moreover, the Sopherim made no changes or corrections; they only submitted that the text ought originally to have been so and so, but is veiled in other expressions, out of respect to the *Shechina*, as you will find out by examining the subject. The same is the case with the Q'rî and K'thîbh (קרי וכתב): they (i. e. the Sopherim) point out what they have altered, if peradventure you choose to characterize them as alterations. We, of the class of believers, however, believe that they all are a law of Moses from Sinai (i. e. the original readings) including the emendations of the scribes (תיקון סופרים). But even if you still insist that the Sopherim did make alterations (תקנו הסופרים), the alterations in question neither raise nor lower the points upon which the heretics rest. Consult also the work done for Ptolemy, the king (i. e. The Septuagint) and you will see that in the thirteen instances where they made changes, they state the reason why they have made these alterations, and what these alterations are, in what they did for him. In conclusion, the heretics can have nothing to say in this matter" (Dr Ginsburg's translation, 1867).

For an exposition of the views heretofore commonly entertained by the Christian (as distinguished from the Jewish) critics on these matters, perhaps no abler exponent can be found than Johanne Leusden (1624—99) whose utterances in reference to the subject in question, have been, more than once, cited as of no little authority. We will therefore quote from his *Philologus Hebraeus* (third ed. 1686). In vol. I. under the section headed, *De Ordinatione Scribarum*, page 270, after having given a full list of the *Tikkun Sopherim*, he continues: "Occasione horum locorum quaeritur, An ex hac correctione Scribarum in octodecim illis locis non sequatur corruptio Textus Hebraici?"

"*Respondeo*. Galatinus<sup>1</sup> lib. I. cap. 8. probaturus Scribas multa in S. Script-

<sup>1</sup> Peter Galatin, a learned Franciscan monk, who lived early in the 16th century and wrote a treatise entitled "De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis." A work of great merit and often since quoted. It is hostile to Rabbinical views on the questions in dispute. Buxtorf succinctly states

ura depravasse, utitur argumento desumpto ab octodecim vocibus, quae vocantur **תיקון סופרים** *correctio Scribarum*. Non quidem vult Judaeos depravasse Textus illo malo animo, sed propter rationes probabiles, et addit has depravationes esse restituendas ex Talmude Judaico: nam credit ea loca aliter olim fuisse lecta quam jam legunter. Sed falsa est haec Galatini assertio: nunquam S. Scriptura a Judaeis datâ operâ corrupta est. Obstat enim specialis Judaeorum reverentia sive potius superstitio erga S. Scripturam, quam Philo Judaeus probat cum ait: *Quemlibet Judaeum potius centies esse moriturum, quam ut pateretur Legem in aliquo mutari*. Sed instabit forte nonnemo. Octodecim voces vocantur *Correctio Scribarum*: ergo Scribae videntur quaedam loca mutasse, quae antea erant depravatae.

“*Respondeo* (1) Si per *Scribas* intelligantur Ezras et Viri Synagogae magnae, tum dicendum est illos S. Scripturam in octodecim illis locis non depravasse, sed emendasse, et antiquam lectionem restituisse. Multi non sine ratione per **סופרים** *Scribas* intelligunt Ezram et Viros Synagogae magnae; et non sine ratione: nam *Numer.* II. 15, Masora pro **תיקון סופרים** *Ordinatio Scribarum* expresse dicit **תקן עזרא** *Correctio Ezrae*. (2) Si per *Scribas* intelligantur Masorethae post-talmudici, tum responderi potest illos testari non quid re vera factum sit, sed quid factum esse Hebraeorum Rabbini tradunt. (3) Mihi verosimile videtur per *Scribas* esse intelligendos ipsos Auctores librorum, scil. Mosen et Prophetas, qui sic scripserunt, prout hodie scriptum est: verum Sapientes Hebraeorum viderunt inconvenientiam quandam in illis locis, ideoque judicarunt primos Auctores propter antecedentia et consequentia aliter loqui et scribere debuisse; sed maluisse ita scribere, prout hodie scriptum est. Hanc sententiam approbat S. Jarchi in Comment. ad Geneseos Caput 18, ubi ait:—**היה לו לכתוב** *scribendum ipsi* (Mosi) *erat, Dominus stabat*. Jarchi non asserit Mosen aliter scripsisse quam jam in Textu invenitur; sed judicat Mosen aliter debuisse vel potius potuisse scribere. Sapientes ergo Hebraeorum observarunt honorem Dei sive cohaerentiam Textus aliter quidem requirere; sed quia Scribae, hoc est, Auctores librorum ita scripserunt, ideo monuerunt talem lectionem esse retinendam; et propterea dixerunt, *Scribarum est ordinatio*, sive ipsi Auctores ita ordinarunt. In hanc sententiam etiam inclinat Buxtorsius apud Glassium pag. 57.”

This, it will be noticed, is substantially the plea of the scribes, only perhaps more perspicuously stated. And such practically for the most part remains to this day the argument (i. e. as far as any advance based upon thorough critical investigation is concerned), adduced by the very few critics who have at all given their attention to this question.

As one of the many preliminary researches, necessary to a thorough sifting and proving of the Massoretic text, and as a further incentive to the study of the whole subject of Lower Criticism, as it is related to the Hebrew Scriptures, it

the argumentative position of *De Arcanis* when he says “Galatinus lib. I. cap. 8, ait loca ista [i. e. **תיקון סופרים**] a Scribis fuisse CORRECTA ET CORRUPTA.” *Lex. Rad.* תִּקְּן.

cannot but result in good to give a list of these disputed passages, though they be only accompanied with the briefest of critical comments. Meanwhile leaving to others, better fitted to undertake the laborious, though far more important task of exhaustively inquiring into and passing final judgment upon the whole matter, which, though hitherto to a large extent overlooked, is now too important to be superficially treated or longer ignored, we proceed to present these emendations, in the order in which they occur in the Hebrew Bible, designating for convenience, the, what may be called, *true original text*, with the letter כ as an abbreviation of the word כתיב, and the present Massoretic text, with the letter ת as an abbreviation of the phrase תיקון סופרים, and withal with a fixed purpose of confining the accompanying remarks and critical comments to as brief a compass as the requirements of each case will allow.

I. First in regular order then we take up Genesis XVIII. 22.

(כ). "And the men turned from thence, and went toward Sodom: but Yahweh still *remained* standing before Abraham (ויהוה עורנו עמד לפני אברהם)."

(ת). "And the men turned from thence, and went toward Sodom: but Abraham still *remained* standing before Yahweh (ואברהם עורנו עמד לפני יהוה)."

It is absolutely necessary that the context should be carefully studied, not only in connection with the above passage, but also with all others that may hereafter be quoted. Indeed in this particular instance, the force of the immediate context has such weight, as to almost irresistibly impel one to the conviction of the probability and reasonableness of the reading in כ, and so violent (if the expression be permitted) is the rupture in the logical continuity of thought in ת that almost any unprejudiced reader is constrained to pause after finishing it, and go over it a second time, impressed with the idea that he could not have read it aright. But mere probability, however reasonable, it must be allowed, unsupported by extraneous evidence of authenticity, will not warrant the adoption of כ, in any case, as the true text. To the question, whether there is sufficient circumstantial and corroborative testimony, we shall have something to say hereafter. For the present let us see what a few of the critics have to say *ad hoc*.

Leusden in *Philologus Hebraeus* (3d ed. Vol. I. page 269) says: "Gen. XVIII. 22. "Ubi Abraham dicitur stetit coram JEHOVAH. Judaei putant magis ad honorem Dei esse, si scriptum fuisset, et JEHOVAH stabat coram Abrahamo. Masora parva annotat esse תיקון סופרים ח' מל' octodecim voces, quae vocantur *Ordinatio Scribarum*. Scribae cogitarunt: fuisse homines quidam hunc Textum posteriori modo legent, eamque depravabunt: ideo ordinarunt, ut omnes versum illum legerent, sicuti scriptus est, etiamsi Textus verba aliquid gloriae divinae videantur detrudere."

Dr. C. C. H. Wright, in his work entitled, "The Book of Genesis in Hebrew" (London, 1859), has the following: "This is one of the eighteen passages marked in the Massora as תיקון סופרים. In these passages the Massorites thought

that there was something derogatory to the glory of God; e. g., in the passage under consideration they thought it would have been better expressed,—Jehovah stood yet before Abraham; but lest it should be read in that way, they have noted that the reading in the text is the true one" (page 60).

Dr. Wright, it will be seen, has followed Leusden, as to argument, very closely, even to the verge of being illogical; for how is to be reconciled the statement, "In these passages [i. e., as they now read] the Massorites thought that there was something derogatory to the glory of God," and the words of *Jacob ben Chajim* as quoted above, viz., "that the text ought originally to have been so and so, but is veiled in other expressions, out of respect to the Shechina"? One can hardly credit the scribes with employing such contradictory lines of defense, though Leusden does charge them with declaring for the integrity of the present text "*etiamsi Textus verba aliquid gloriæ divinæ videantur detrahare.*" It would seem as if these critics had not materially strengthened the position of the Rabbins.

Far more frank and consistent, however, is the modern Jewish opinion on this subject, as expressed in the valuable commentary, "The Scriptures, Hebrew and English," by De Sola, Lindenthal and Raphall, published at London, 1844, where in Vol. I., page 96, referring to this passage we read: "Rashi remarks that according to the context it should have been, *the Lord yet stood before Abraham*, but the Massorites have altered it to the present reading. The reason seems to be that the expression to *stand before another* implies, in scriptural language, a state of inferiority and homage." The honest candor and almost anti-Jewish tone so prominent in the above comment, and considering the eminent source from which it springs, adds greatly to its intrinsic value, and contributes no little support to the position taken by Bleek in his "Introduction to the Old Testament" (2d ed., translated by Venables) Vol. II., page 459, where treating of the whole subject of the "Tikkun Sopherim," he, specifically referring to this passage, says, "The words, *Abraham stood yet before Jehovah*" (Gen. xviii. 22), are a *correctio scribarum* for, *Jehovah stood yet before Abraham*. I consider that it is very probable that the latter is the original reading, for this mode of expression is better suited to the context. They were induced to make the alteration, because it was considered unseemly to say, that *Jehovah stood before Abraham*, this phraseology often being made use of to point out a relation of dependence."

The nature and scope of this article do not admit of further comment on this verse; indeed the limits of our allotted space will hereafter compel us to confine ourselves to little more than the bare enumeration of the remaining passages of the list.

## II. Numbers xi. 15.

(ב). "And if thus thou art about to deal with me, then slay me, I pray thee, at once, if I have found favor in thy eyes: that I may not see thy evil, (ברעתך)" i. e. the punishment wherewith thou wilt visit Israel.

(ת). "And if thus thou art about to deal with me, then slay me, I pray thee, at once, if I have found favor in thy eyes: that I may not see my evil (ברעת)."

The reason for this emendation (if it be one) is very readily apparent, for כ was possibly liable to be construed as ascribing "evil" (רעה) to Yahweh; the removing, therefore, of this possibility would be forsooth a most sufficient justification in the eyes of the scribes for the correction.

It is necessary here to add, that besides the reading in כ given above, there is a second form of the last word handed down by the Massorites, viz., ברעתם *makum ipsorum*, and what is remarkable, one of the Targums (Jerusalemi) corroborates this tradition; for, among its preserved fragments, we find the last clause rendered thus: ולא אחמי בבשתהון רעמך "that I may not see the evil of them who are thy people."

If now this latter text (ברעתם) be adopted as the more probable original form of כ, then there would seem to be some justification for the conservative argument adduced by Leusden and quoted above (see page 235 commencing with "(3) Mihi verosimile videtur, etc.," through to the end of the extract); for there would then be no apparent reason which could lead the scribe to substitute another reading for the one already existing, as it would obviously be already the most natural mode of expressing the idea which the tenor of the context logically demands, and that, too, without having any features which could possibly be conceived of as derogatory to the Deity. But if on the other hand, we take the former reading (ברעתך) to be the correct recension, then there arises an inevitable presumption, more or less conclusive, that the emendation did originate as charged, because of the cogency of the evident motive in the case. To which text the final preference ought to be given is a question to be decided solely by a preponderance of evidence, based upon a thorough critical investigation, and such we cannot here enter upon.

### III. and IV. Num. xii. 12.

(כ). "Let her not, I pray, be as the dead, through whose proceeding from the womb of our own mother (אמנו), the half of our own flesh (בשרנו) would *thus* be consumed."

(ת). "Let her not, I pray, be as the dead *born child*, which when it comes out of its mother's (אמו) womb, *has* half of its flesh (בשר) consumed."

Here it will be noticed are two *Tikkun Sopherim*, the causes for which are not very apparent. Possibly the motive might have been, that by כ a reflection seemed somehow to be cast upon the mother of Moses. At any rate it seems difficult to conceive how anything stated in כ could possibly, by the most fertile imagination, yea, even that of a Hebrew scribe, be considered as expressing or implying disrespect to Yahweh.

### V. 1 Sam. iii. 13.

(כ). "And I tell him that I will judge his house forever, for the iniquity which he knew, for his sons cursed me (ל'), and he rebuked them not."

(ת). "And I tell him that I will judge his house forever, for the iniquity which he knew, for his sons did bring a curse upon themselves (להם), and he rebuked them not."

The Septuagint renders this clause as follows:—*ἔτι κακολογούντες Θεὸν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ* which significantly corroborates כ, if it does not, in fact, lend weight to the view that the original reading was אלהים (Θεὸν) rather than ל'. But at all events, the idea is identically the same, as Buxtorf indicates when he says, "ל' *mihi*, scil. Deo."<sup>1</sup> The motive underlying the emendation in this case is obvious enough. It was too offensive to believe that the sons of Eli could openly blaspheme God, and Eli be cognizant of it, and yet not reprimand them.

The text, as it now stands, in ת, confessedly presents many difficulties to a lucid interpretation; this fact conjoined with the above evidence strongly leads to the conclusion that it has undergone a corruption.<sup>2</sup>

#### VI. 2 Sam. xvi. 12.

(כ). "Perhaps Yahweh will behold with his eye (בעינו), and Yahweh will requite me good instead of his cursing this day."

(ת). "Perhaps Yahweh will look on my eye (בעיני), and will requite me good instead of his cursing this day."

There is great doubt and uncertainty as to the correct reading in this verse, the Massorites, for once, being far less explicit than we could wish that they had been. The above recension has been adopted, as, on the whole, the more probable one; though it must be confessed, not without considerable doubt as to its correctness. Perhaps we cannot more clearly show the confusion which rests on this matter, than by quoting from Buxtorf<sup>3</sup>, "Hunc locum Massora utroque loco adducit: recensetur quoque in libro Tanchuma, in Parascha Beschallach in Exodus: <sup>4</sup> sed in qua voce תיקון consistat, non explicant. Commentatores hic quoque nullius תיקון meminerunt, cum alias R. Solomon et R. David loca ista adducere et explicare soleant. Pro בעני, ut Massora ponit, in textu scriptum est בעיני, quod interpretes dicunt esse idem quod בעני afflictionem meam, sed legitur בעיני oculum meum, id est, lachrymas oculorum meorum."

The form בעיני found in כ, undoubtedly might be open to the imputation of conveying anthropomorphic ideas of Yahweh, and hence would of course be objectionable to the scribes; but what should induce the alteration of בעני my

<sup>1</sup> Lex. Rad., תקן.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lange-Schaff Com., vol. on Samuel, note 13, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Lex. Rad., תקן.

<sup>4</sup> "The Commentary Tanchuma (Consolation) on the section Beschallach (chapter xlii. 17 to chapter xlviii.) in Exodus." This is a Midrashic work probably written early in the ninth century. It covers the entire Pentateuch.

*iniquity* (i. e. the wrong done me), if this be indeed the original reading, to **בעיני** *my eye* (i. e. my tears), or even to the more reasonable **בעני** *my affliction*, is by no means apparent, nor does Dr. Erdmann shed much light upon it, when he remarks, "The Massorites were not able to comprehend how David, guiltless in respect to this reviling, could acknowledge himself guilty,"<sup>1</sup> for the term does not necessarily imply any acknowledgment whatever, of personal guilt, on the part of David.

VII. and VIII. 1 Kgs. xii. 16 and 2 Chron. x. 16.

(ב). And when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king saying, "What portion have we in David? nor have we an inheritance in the son of Jesse; [every man] to his God (**לאלהי**), O Israel! now see to thine own house, David!" So [all] Israel departed to their God (**לאלהי**).

(ת). And when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king saying, "What portion have we in David? nor have we an inheritance in the son of Jesse: [every man] to thy tents (**לאהליך**), O Israel! now see to thine own house David?" So [all] Israel departed to their tents (**לאהלין**).

Here the wording of ב graphically brings out the idea that the rebellious separation of Israel from the house of David, was, in the mind of the writer, nothing less than a renunciation of Yahweh, and a direct transition to idolatry; but it is readily conceivable that the terms employed might be considered by devout scribes as altogether too vigorous language, and besides as intimating, not alone disrespect, but even open defiance of Yahweh, and the subsequent delay of merited punishment might by some be perversely construed as a circumstance going to show that Yahweh could be contemptuously treated with impunity. In fact ת does not, in reality change the idea contained in ב, but only clothes it in a less objectionable dress, for Israel did forsake the sanctuary at Jerusalem for the worship of idolatry in tents at Bethel and Dan.

IX. Jeremiah ii. 11.

(ב). "Hath a nation changed its gods? and yet they are no gods, but my people have changed my glory (**כבודי**) for that which doth not profit (i. e. an idol)."

(ת). "Hath a nation changed its gods? and yet they are no gods, but my people have changed their glory (**כבודן**), for that which doth not profit."

Here the ת, as we have seen in previous instances, does not alter the essential thought in the least, but by a slight modification of one small letter י, an offensive feature in ב is removed. There can be no doubt but that "their glory" refers to the Lord; the context imperatively demands such an interpretation. Neumann, arguing in favor of this point, is constrained to say: "Daher konnte

<sup>1</sup> Lange Schaff Com., p. 509.

Petrus Galatinus meinen (*De Arcanis Cath. Verit.* I. c. 8, p. 30), es heisse ursprünglich כבודי.<sup>1</sup> The correction in this case is of the same character as those in XI. and XV. and the motive underlying each is identical.

X. Ezekiel viii. 17.

(כ). "Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen *this*, O son of man? Is it a light matter to the house of Judah to commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence and they constantly repeat to provoke me to anger, and, lo, they put the branch to my nose (אפי)." **(אפי)**."

(ת). The same, except the last clause which reads: "and, lo, they put the branch to their nose (אפם)." **(אפם)**."

This passage perhaps requires no comment, and yet there is one view of it which we do not wish to overlook. The anthropomorphism in כ is so pronounced, taken in connection with the immediate context, as to almost awaken repugnance in one, even though not a Jew, unfamiliar with this reading. How much greater then, the painful recoil which it would always have produced in the minds of devout Hebrews, had it been the received recension.<sup>2</sup> But on a closer unprejudiced inspection, much of its seemingly objectionable character disappears.

The generally adopted interpretation put upon the word זמורה "branch," is that it is connected with some idolatrous practice of the Persians in their worship of the sun. Now if this be correct, what is more reasonable or appropriate than that the Lord, in enumerating the great abominations committed by the house of Israel, should culminate the recital by saying: *And, lo, they flaunt the very insignia of their idolatry in my face*, and thus we would obtain a most forcible exposition of a passage otherwise very obscure, for certain it is, that the critics and commentators hitherto have not, on the basis of the *textus receptus* ("put the branch to their nose"), altogether satisfactorily explained this verse.<sup>3</sup>

XI. Hosea iv. 7.

(כ) "The more they increased, the more did they sin against me: my glory they changed into shame (בקלון המיר)." **(כבודי בקלון המיר)**."

(ת). "The more they increased, the more did they sin against me: I will change their glory into shame (בכבודם בקלון אמיר)." **(כבודם בקלון אמיר)**."

A full explication of the verbal changes implied in this *Tikkun* is wanting. In most of the authorities we find simply the most meagre statements. As an illustration of this, take Leusden's remark<sup>4</sup> "כבודם *gloriam ipsorum* pro כבודי *gloriam meam*," which literally carried out would result in the unintelligible phrase: "My glory I will change into shame;" for it is utterly incongruous with the context, and besides, has no relevancy or harmony with the explanations given by

<sup>1</sup> Jeremias, vol. I., p. 200. Leipzig, 1854.

<sup>2</sup> But as to the use of the expression אפי, elsewhere, by Yahweh, consult Isa. lxxv. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lange-Schaff Commentary ad hoc loco.

<sup>4</sup> Philol. Heb., vol. I., p. 270.



the Rabbins, as to the origin of *Tikkun Sopherim*; or yet with the theories of their opponents. It is too irrational a supposition to be entertained for a moment, that the ancient scribes thus intended it to be understood. I have, therefore, adopted in כ, the only consistent interpretation that has presented itself in the course of a somewhat careful investigation: it is, at least, in perfect accord with the analogous changes to be found in IX. and XV. The motive leading to the alteration in this case is self-apparent. It was offensive to think that wicked mortal man had the power to debase, in any degree, the glory of the infinite Yahweh.

## XII. Habakkuk i. 12.

(כ). "Art not thou from everlasting, O Yahweh, my God, my Holy One? Thou diest not (לא תמות). O Yahweh, thou hast ordained him for judgment; and thou, O Rock, hast established him for correction."

(ת). "Art not thou from everlasting, O Yahweh, my God, my Holy One? We shall not die (לא נמות)," etc., etc.

It almost seems unnecessary to do more than simply quote Ewald upon this passage; he says, verse 12, "להוכיח and למשפט", according to the sense of the passage, refer as plainly to the Chaldean himself, as תמות must be read instead of נמות, contrary to the Massora and LXX. in *d* צור answers to לא תמות. The phrase which appeared objectionable to a good many ancient readers, really expresses only our idea of *immortality*; but, *we shall not die*, or ולא נמות LXX. [*καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν*] *that we die not*, is a thought which is quite foreign to the passage."<sup>1</sup>

In this opinion Bleek also concurs, for he says: "—from the context it is very probable, as Ewald also thinks, that לא תמות is the genuine reading, which on account of the expression seeming offensive, they [the *Sopherim*] thought they ought to alter."<sup>2</sup> This is, moreover, substantiated by the Targum, which thus paraphrases the clause in question: מִימְרָךְ קִים לְעַלְמִין "Thy word endureth forever." R. Sol. Isaaci (Rashi) also adopts this reading, quoting it as the original writing of the prophet. In this connection it is a significant fact worthy of note, that the Revised Version of 1884 has to this particular verse the marginal comment, "According to an ancient Jewish tradition, *thou diest not*." Undoubtedly to the ancient Scribes, it was considered unbefitting to speak of *death* at all in regard to Yahweh, even though, as in this case, the direct denial of the Lord's ever experiencing it, was predicated.

## XIII. Zechariah ii. 12. (A. V. verse 8.)

(כ). For thus saith Yahweh of hosts, (for the sake of *your* glory hath he sent me unto the nations which despoil you), 'He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of my eye (עיני).' "

<sup>1</sup> Commentary on the Prophets, Smith's translation, vol. III., p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to the O. T., 2d ed., by Venables, vol. II., p. 459.

(ר). "For thus saith Yahweh of hosts, for the sake of *your* glory hath he sent me unto the nations which despoil you, for he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye (עֵינִי)."

Here the Sopherim thought that they could detect a tendency toward anthropomorphism, similar to that displayed in X. The main objectionable element in both these passages, appears to have been, that the pronominal suffix employed (*my*) seemed to imply that Yahweh *himself* ascribed to *himself* certain degrading anthropomorphic characteristics. Moreover the Lord is never elsewhere represented as himself using the personal pronoun *my* in conjunction with so pronounced an anthropomorphism as, "apple of the eye." Its use, therefore, in this exceptional case, might be construed as an inconsistency, and hence derogatory to the divine character.

#### XIV. Malachi i. 13.

(ב). "And ye have said, Behold, what a bore it is. And ye have snuffed at me (אֹרְתִי), saith Yahweh of hosts; and ye have brought that which was taken by violence, and the lame, and the sick; thus have ye brought the offering: should I accept this from you? saith Yahweh."

(ר). "And ye have said, Behold, what a bore it is; and ye have snuffed at it (אֹרְתוֹ), saith Yahweh of hosts," etc.

Commenting on this verse, Keil and Delitzsch remark: "Jerome thinks that instead of אֹרְתוֹ we might read אֹרְתִי, which is found in a good number of codices."<sup>1</sup> They, however, feel constrained, on general principles, to reject the reading, and stand upon the textus receptus. The exact words of Jerome, above referred to, are, "ut in Hebraeo legi potest, et excussulastis me, haec dicendo, non sacrificio, sed, mihi cui sacrificabatis, fecistis injuriam." In support of this view, R. Sol. Isaaci is quoted by Buxtorf as saying: "In textu sacro fuisse scriptum אֹרְתִי et postea per Scribas correctum אֹרְתוֹ ut hodie legitur."<sup>2</sup> The expression as well as the idea contained in ב has, it cannot but be admitted, a tendency to awaken a revulsion of feeling in a sensitive reverential heart. Therefore, if the emendation was made, the motive that actuated it was good.

#### XV. Psalm cvi. 20.

(ב). "Thus they changed my glory (כְּבוֹדִי) into the similitude of an ox, that eateth herbage."

(ח). Thus they changed their glory (כְּבוֹדָם) into the similitude of an ox that eateth herbage."

The remarks under IX. will equally apply here, for the cases are almost identical. As a circumstance tending to show that a certain degree of uncertainty as to the true text, has from remote time existed, we may cite the fact, that the Vulgate here reads, *gloriam suam*, which is supported by some codices of the

<sup>1</sup> Commentary on the Minor Prophets, vol. II., p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Lex., Rad., תִּקּוּן.

LXX. where we find *δόξαν αὐτοῦ*; both indicating a single suffix (כבוד). Consult the striking parallel in Rom. i. 23.

XVI. Job. vii. 20.

(ב). "If I have sinned, what *injury* can I cause unto thee, O thou Watcher of men? Why hast thou set me up as a target for thee *to strike at*, and *why* have I become a burden unto thee (עליך)."

(ת). The same except the last word which here reads: "unto myself (עלי)."

This is a case where the presumption raised, in favor of כ being the original reading, is very strong. The Septuagint so has it, *εἰμὶ δὲ ἐπὶ σοὶ φορτίον*; and many of the ablest critics have given their decision in its favor. We have space but to mention only one or two of the numerous authorities which have endorsed it. The eminent Jewish Commentator Ibn Ezra (1092-1167) adopts it as the original form written by the author. Houbigant, in his *Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis*, 1758, says: "ואהיה עלי למשא etc., *sum mihi gravis*. Imo עליך tibi, quod scribae mutarent in עלי. Id vocant correctionem scribarum, h. e. תקון סופרים, quod indignum divina majestate arbitrantur ut homuncio Deo esset oneri. Sed num fuerunt sapientiores Deo? Haec Drusius, ex ipso Aben-Ezra Judaeo, qui sic aiebat: *correctio est scribarum licit expositio ejus absque correctione recta sit*." Sapienter vero id Aben-Ezra, cum עליך sui simile habeat לך in priori membro, et cum scriptum habuerint עליך Graeci interpretes." And in our day, such an able and conservative critic as Dr. Delitzsch feels himself constrained to accept this reading in preference to that of the Massora; he thus expresses his conviction: "Why, says Job, hast thou made me a mark of hostile attack, and why am I a burden to thee? It is not so in our text; but according to Jewish tradition, עלי, which we now have, is only a תקון סופרים *correctio scribarum*, for עליך, which was removed as bordering on blasphemy. This reading I should not consider as the original, in spite of the tradition, if it were not confirmed by the LXX."<sup>1</sup> In this he is followed by the Lange-Schaff Commentary. It does indeed seem as though it were only a matter of time before עליך would again obtain its due recognition and take its rightful place in the printed text. May we not with confidence assert that, when that much desired *critically revised Hebrew Text* shall appear, as appear it certainly must, this will be one of the corrections to be found incorporated in it.

XVII. Job. xxxii. 3.

(ב). "And against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they had found no answer to Job and also because they had condemned divine justice (את הדין)."

(ת). "And against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they had found no answer, and yet had condemned Job (את איוב)."

Tradition has preserved an alternative reading in כ, viz., את אלהים.

<sup>1</sup> Commentary on the Book of Job, translated by Bolton, 2d ed. 1886.

“God:” if this be adopted, the clause of course would be: “And also because they had condemned God.” It is not indicated which is the more probably true reading. At any rate, the idea is evidently precisely the same, whichever term be employed.

Hitzig, though not giving his support to the traditional view (i. e., that the scribes have here made an emendation), still suggests that the reading **אלהים** may be the foundation for the rendering found in the LXX., *διότι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἀποκριθῆναι ἀντιθετα Ἰώβ, καὶ ἔθεντο αὐτὸν εἶναι ἄσεβη.*<sup>1</sup> The reasonableness of the statement found in **כ**, as viewed in the light of other expressions met with in the poem, has been seriously attacked by some: e. g., Dr. Delitzsch peremptorily dismisses it with the remark, “According to the Jewish view, **וירשיעו את-איוב** is one of the eighteen **תקוני סופרים** (*correctiones scribarum*), since it should be **וירשיעו את-אלהים**. But it is not the friends who have been guilty of this sin of **הרשיע** against God, but Job, ch. XL. 8, to whom Elihu opposes the sentence **אל-לא-ירשיע**, ch. XXXIV. 12. Our judgment of another such *tikkun*, ch. VII. 20, was more favorable.”<sup>2</sup>

This objection seems to us to be without solid foundation, and rests upon a strange misconception and failure to apprehend the true trend of the various arguments, nor is it sustained by the passages referred to as authorities when they are rightly construed; for ch. XXXIV. 12 is obviously addressed to the three friends, and not to Job, as it is most commonly interpreted; this is plainly indicated by the form of address employed in verses 2 and 10. This whole passage, as we take it, is a fervid discourse addressed to the three friends for the purpose of instructing them as to how they could and should have effectively answered Job, which they had undoubtedly in their arguments failed to do, and for which palpable failure Elihu's anger was excited against them. And ch. XL. 8 does by no means preclude the idea that the three friends were guilty of condemning divine justice in their arguments, as is shown by the words employed by the Lord in the epilogue, where he explicitly censures them for *not having spoken of me the thing that is right* (ch. XLII. 7, 8). Now the statement here made manifestly presents an incongruity when considered in the light of the common interpretation as founded upon the reading **את איוב** in ch. XXXII. 3, to obviate which the translators of the LXX. here have made clearly an intentional correction and thereby bring into harmony these discordant statements (i. e., ch. XLII. 8, *οὐ γὰρ ἐλάλησατε ἀληθὲς κατὰ τοῦ θεράποντός μου Ἰώβ*); and what is quite remarkable, some MSS. of the Hebrew exhibit a like reading (i. e., **בעבדי את איוב** *against my servant Job*);—all of which certainly tend to demonstrate the reasonableness of the reading found in **כ**.

<sup>1</sup> “Das Buch Hiob,” 1874, Note b, page 240.

<sup>2</sup> “Commentary on the Book of Job,” Bolton's translation, 2d ed., 1868.

Dr. Green has, with rare insight, detected and exposed the necessary logical result to which the argument of the three friends leads, when he says, "The friends undertook to justify God's providential dealings. The failure of their argument apparently leaves the divine proceedings open to censure and without any adequate vindication. . . . They had really inculpated the providence of God by their professed defense of it. By disingenuously covering up and ignoring its enigmas and seeming contradictions they had cast more discredit upon it than Job by honestly holding them up to the light. Their denial of its apparent inequalities was more untrue and more dishonoring to the divine administration, as it is in fact conducted, than Job's bold affirmation of them. Even his most startling utterances, wrung from him in his bewilderment and sore perplexity, were less reprehensible than their false statements and false inferences."<sup>1</sup> Viewed in this light, is it in anywise strange or unreasonable that the inspired writer should predicate of "the messenger of God, who came to plead God's cause," for such Elihu undoubtedly was, that "against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they had found no answer to Job, and also because they had condemned divine justice"?

Moreover, if a *Tikkun Sopherim* is anything at all, it is one of two things: (1) a record of what the author actually wrote in a particular case; or, (2) a notice indicating what the ancient scribes considered the sense of the context naturally and logically demanded. If the former be true, then verily these critics have become wiser than the spirit of inspiration. And if the latter be true, then they certainly convict the Hebrew scribes of an egregious misunderstanding of an argument expressed in their own language, and what is more, contained in their so carefully studied Sacred Scriptures; which is indeed as improbable as that Dr. Delitzsch has discovered the *only* construction which can be put upon ch. XL. 8. It hardly needs mention, that the reason which might have influenced a scribe to consider a correction desirable, was the offensiveness of a statement implying that mortal man had audaciously condemned the infinitely wise and just God.

#### XVIII. Lamentations III. 19-21.

(כ). "O remember my wretched and forlorn condition, *it is* wormwood and gall. Yea, verily thou wilt remember, and thy soul will condescend unto me (ותשיח עלי נפשי): this I recall to my heart, therefore have I hope."

(ת). "O remember my wretched and forlorn condition, *it is* wormwood and gall. My soul indeed remembers, and is humiliated within me (ותשח עלי נפשי); this I recall to my heart, therefore have I hope."

If, in this case ת be a correct translation of the Massoretic text, and such it most probably is, then there is even to the English reader, evidently a marked lack of cohesion between the clauses, and a painful want of logical concatenation

<sup>1</sup> "The Argument of the Book of Job unfolded," pages 245 and 519.

in the thought; while, on the other hand, the clearness and beauty of the idea brought out in **ב** cannot but awaken an involuntary sanction and approval in the mind of every candid reader. If it be a fact that an emendation has been incorporated into the text here, then, indeed, it is to be regretted; for great has been the loss sustained, through the over-zealousness of Hebrew scribes in removing a seeming offensive anthropomorphism, which resulted well nigh in an annihilation of the sense. But if this view seem to lack support, then by far the most reverential attitude to assume is, that the text, as we now possess it, has suffered corruption during the process of time. Such indeed, is the view entertained by eminent commentators, who have been prolific in suggesting various emendations. But, after all, what is more reasonable or natural than to adopt the suggestion supported by the oldest tradition, and which so beautifully and consistently removes all ambiguity.

In conclusion, we feel confident that we cannot do better than quote the judgments expressed upon the *Tikkun Sopherim* by two such eminent authorities as Eichhorn and Bleek. The former concludes from "the character of the readings" that "this recension took note only of certain errors which had crept into the text through transcribers, and which were corrected by collection of MSS.<sup>1</sup> The latter thus expresses himself: "It is usually assumed that the notes called *Tikkun Sopherim* were merely alterations of incorrect readings in many manuscripts, according to others which were more exact, and it is supposed, unquestionably, that the readings brought forward by the Sopherim, which are just those of our present MSS. and editions, were the genuine and original ones. But in what we find stated, there is nothing to the effect that they were emendations from other MSS.; thus, then, the question would arise how the readings set aside by the corrections of the Sopherim were introduced into MSS.; as from the nature of many of the readings, they could not have got in by mere accident. Partly from the statements of the Massorites, and partly from the nature of many of the readings set aside by the *Tikkun Sopherim* as compared with those introduced by the latter and now existing in the text, we are led to look upon the matter in the following way:—that in these passages there actually existed generally, or at least in most of the manuscripts in use, other readings which, because in some points of view they presented certain offensive or doubtful expressions, the Sopherim considered themselves justified in altering. Thus, in a critical point of view, these earlier readings which are specified as being altered, always deserve much attention, and at least in many cases, it may be really assumed with great probability that they are the original ones. It may, however, be assumed with probability, that these *correctiones scribarum* existed in ancient times, indeed before the date of the Talmud, and that it is only by accident that they are not

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<sup>1</sup> Einleitung in das Alte Test., 1823, § 116.

expressly mentioned in the latter. But the fact that the knowledge of them was afterwards preserved serves as a direct proof of the anxiety that was shown as to the form of the text.’<sup>1</sup>

Our main purpose in the writing of this article has been (1) to attempt to demonstrate the fact that there was a cogent motive in each case, sufficient to induce the Sopherim to change the original text; and (2) to establish, by external as well as internal proof, the basis for the presumption that the original text has actually suffered corruption at the hands of the ancient scribes, if not in all, at least in some of the cases considered, whether we have succeeded in our object, or not, is a question to be decided by the verdict of each unprejudiced reader. If it be proven that the scribes have, in truth, made one single correction in the original writings in the places designated as *Tikkun Sopherim*, then their whole line of defense must fall to the ground; for it is no longer entitled to the least credence, and the value of each *Tikkun* must be determined solely by the weight of evidence in its favor, in each individual case, totally irrespective of any statements or explanations handed down by personally interested scribes. *Falsus in uno falsus in omnibus* is a well established principal of legal evidence for determining the credibility of witnesses, and it is equally applicable to the case in hand.

In closing, we have only to say that there has been, throughout this discussion, an honest intention to bring to light only the truth, and while so doing, to endeavor to be fair and just in the criticisms indulged in and the judgments expressed.

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<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the O. T. translation of Venables, vol. II., p. 459.

A SYNOPSIS OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY BY BAR 'EBHRÂ YÂ.

BY RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, PH. D.,

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In his "Lamp of the Holy Things" Bar 'Ebhṛâyâ has given us a compendium of his logical, physical, metaphysical, and theological writings. In its general construction it is very similar to the "Book of the Bee" and to the "Causa Causarum" attributed to Ya'qubh 'Urḥâyâ (ZDMG. xv. 648). The "M'nârath Kūdḥšê" is perhaps one of the least known of the larger works of Bar 'Ebhṛâyâ.<sup>1</sup> MS. copies of it are quite rare.<sup>2</sup> At some future date I hope to edit the whole of it. It is especially interesting as giving us a picture of the state of science in Syria during the thirteenth century. It furnishes also important additions to our Syriac lexicon, and has not been sufficiently excerpted by Quatremere for the "Thesaurus Syriacus." In a small publication, I have already edited the chapter on plants and their medicinal properties.<sup>3</sup> The following contains the chapter on the Greek philosophers, taken from the Berlin MS. It is much more scientific than the accounts in the Syriac Chronicle and Arabic "Historia Dynastorum." I do not think that Bar 'Ebhṛâyâ has himself gone very deeply into Grecian philosophy. It is probably based upon some such synopsis as those of Aristotile in the first book of the "Metaphysics," Plutarch in Eusebius, "Prepar. Evan." xrv. 14, and Stobaeus, "Eclogae Physicae," i. 12. The names are written too correctly for it to have come from an Arabic source; though Bar 'Ebhṛâyâ has otherwise drawn largely from Ibn Abi Oseibia, El Kifti and Sa'id (Steinschneider, "Al Farabi," pp. viii, 152, 154, 157). In what connection this synopsis stands to one mentioned by Renan in his "Phil. Peripat. apud Syros" (Steinschneider, *loc. cit.*, p. 128) I am unable to say, as I have no means of consulting that book.

Through the kindness of Professor Sachau and Herr Stud. Müller in Berlin my copy has been once more collated with the MS.

MS. Sachau 81, fol. 22a.

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1834, p. 461, contains a description of the work. Assemāni (B. O. II. 234) does not say much. A short extract will be found in Frothingham's "Stephen bar Sudaili," p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Vatican (B. O., *loc. cit.*), Paris (anc. fonds MS. 121), Berlin (Sachau MS. 81). Arabic translations exist in Paris, the British Museum, and the Bodleian.

<sup>3</sup> "A List of Plants and their Properties," etc. Berlin, 1886. For private circulation only.







וְכֵן מִן הַמַּיָּא הַזֶּה מְבֹרָא הַכֹּסֶם הַזֶּה וְכֵן מִן הַמַּיָּא הַזֶּה מְבֹרָא הַכֹּסֶם הַזֶּה  
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Second foundation, on the nature of this universe. In it there are a preface and three chapters.

I. Preface. Many and different opinions were [current] among the ancients regarding the nature of this universe. For some of them assumed water to be the one moving principle, as Thales of Miletus,<sup>1</sup> he who first originated philosophy. For he saw that all life springs from the moisture of seed, and that all plants draw their nourishment from it, and by means of it grow; and that from [damp<sup>2</sup>] vapors fire, the sun, and the stars are nurtured. The poet Homer also sings (ἄββαῖ) in the same strain when he calls Oceanus and Tethys, i. e., the sea and moisture, the parents of all existing things.<sup>3</sup> Others again have posited (τὶθῆμι) air [as the first principle], as Anaximenes and Diogenes. They said that the soul of everything that lives is preserved by air; and that wind and air preserve this world.<sup>4</sup> Others posited fire, as Hippasus, and Heracleitus and Theophrastus. They affirmed that it is heat which brings forth all things, and causes them to grow; and that, when this [fire] goes out, the world also ceases to be. Some of them posit one moving principle, as Xenophanes. This one denied all generation and destruction;<sup>5</sup> and one affirms that the essence of all things is altogether unchangeable. Parmenides says that the principle [of all things] is *one*, immovable; but *one* only in the concept (λόγος).<sup>6</sup> On this account he affirmed it to be limited. Milissus posits the *one*, identical in number and in substance. He affirmed it to be infinite. Some of them (i. e., the philosophers) assumed many elements. Of

<sup>1</sup> Through a clerical error MS. has "Melitene," the well-known city in Cappadocia; *Hist. Dynast.*, p. 50, correctly Miletus.

<sup>2</sup> Wabh<sup>2</sup>lehgê dh<sup>2</sup>mayyâ? καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκ τούτου γιγνόμενον. Arist. *Metaph.* I. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Il. XIV. 102: Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν. In his *Hist. Dynast.* Bar 'Ebhryâ tells us that Theophilus of Edessa, who died in 785, translated Homer into Syriac (Lagarde, *Symmetica*, I. 106). Severus of Tegrit mentions it also (*ibid.*). Bar 'Ali (Payne Smith col. 2081) cites the expression "mayyâ dhaggâlê" probably from the same source. Cf. also Ibn Abi Useibia, I. 185, l. 25.

<sup>4</sup> The words of Anaximenes himself. Stobæus, *Eclogarum physis*, I. 296: οὐόν ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀπὸ οὐσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀπὸ περιέχει.

<sup>5</sup> Ξενοφάνης. . . . οὐτε γένεσιν οὐτε φθορὰν ἀπολείπει. Freudenthal, *Ueber die Theologie des Xenophanes*, p. 46 Zeller, *A Hist. of Greek Phil.*, I. p. 566.

<sup>6</sup> The sense here is very obscure. I think that Bar 'Ebhryâ means Parmenides to say that the *one* is identical with itself. Zeller, l. c., p. 586.

these there were those who assumed infinite *ὁμοιομερῆ*, as Anaxagoras.<sup>1</sup> He said that when these parts (*μέρη*) collide with one another and again separate from one another, generation and destruction are completed. The active cause of existence he affirmed to be the *νοῦς*. Lucippus also assumed infinite elements, but [said] that they differ [from one another] and possess real Being, and that "Being is not more real than not-Being."<sup>2</sup> Democritus again assumes infinite principles round in form (*σχημα*), which can be divided off mentally, not in reality. Epicurus, again, says of the [first] principles that they are infinite [in number], indivisible, and are set in motion in an infinite vacuum, and that they possess magnitude, shape and gravity.

Others posited the principles as finite, as Empedocles. This [philosopher] set up the four elements as principles, and the mingling (*μίξις*) [of the elements], which is generation, he calls love (*φιλότης*), and [their] separation (*διάλλαξις*), which is destruction, [he calls hate (*νεῖκος*)].<sup>3</sup> Aristotle posits three principles, *ἔλξη*, *εἶδος* and deprivation (*στέρησις*).<sup>4</sup> He also assumes elements for the *στέρησις*, because the destruction of every *εἶδος* is the cause of another *εἶδος*. The Stoics said that the Deity (*ὁ θεός*) and the *ἔλξη* are the [material] principles, the one as working force (*τὸ ποιῶν*) the other as passive (*τὸ πάσχον*) and receptive, i. e., father and mother. Some Stoics posited five elements,—god, the soul (*ψυχή*), *ἔλξη*, time (*κρόνος*) and vacuum (*κενόν*).

Pythagoras, the son of Mnesarchus, the Samian, he who first gave the name *philosophy* to philosophy,<sup>5</sup> made numbers the elements of this universe; saying that the compound numbers come from the simple ones, and that there is nothing simpler than number, because it is bereft of all nature, and that every nature, since number necessarily belongs to it, is compound,<sup>6</sup> and not simple. He asserts, further, that the first number is the active force (*ποιητικόν*), and the second the receptive (*ἔλξη*). The full number is ten (*δεκάς*), because it cannot be added to, but we [commence again to] count from it. The number four (*τετρακτύς*) is its [i. e., ten's] foundation; for by means of it [the ten] is made full; namely, by [the addition of] one, and two, and three, and four. Atticus, in the first chapter of the book Philicus [Phillipus?] says that Plato thought [there were] four elements,—*νοῦς*, which is the active force, or deity, praise be to his goodness; the receptacle (*δοχεῖον*?) or *ἔλξη*, which he also calls the receptive mother<sup>7</sup> and *εἰκμαγεῖον*;<sup>8</sup> the image

<sup>1</sup> Arist. *Metaph.* I. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, *Metaph.* I. 4, of which our words are a translation: *διὸ καὶ οὐθὲν μᾶλλον τὸ ὄν τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι φασιν.*

<sup>3</sup> A clerical omission in MS.

<sup>4</sup> Stobæus, *Eclogæ Physicæ*, I. ch. XII. Schahrastāni, "Kitāb al-Milal wan-Nihal," II. 817. Aaron ben Elia, "ʿEs hayyim," ed. Delitzsch, p. 326.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Hist. Dynast.*, p. 51, this has become, "Some say that the first one who philosophized was Pythagoras."

<sup>6</sup> In the MS. this word occurs twice; but see *Hist. Dynast.*, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> Timæus, 51 A.

<sup>8</sup> Timæus, 50 D.

[of the thing generated, i. e., ἀφομοιούμενον] or εἶδος, which he calls the archetype, saying that in its likeness the different substances were created; and motion (κίνησις) or soul, which until then had existed without knowledge in the ὕλη as the first principle, and [which] had been brought into motion confusedly and not according to order (ἀτάκτως).<sup>1</sup> In the book *Timæus*, Plato himself says that these [principles] are three,—being, δοχεῖον, and νοῦς, a treble triad, and [one which] existed before the heavens.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, he called εἶδος God,<sup>3</sup> and δοχεῖον ὕλη; motion or soul [he called] generation. And in one place also he says there are two principles, combining the deity and εἶδος into one, and ὕλη and motion into one. Syrianus (MS. Sibaricus?), to whom Plotinus attached himself, and Boëthius (MS. BUTUS), to whom Longinus (MS. LUKGS), the teacher of Porphyrius, was attached, have said much about the opinions of Plato; but we omit them, in order that this exposition be not prolonged. Of the rest, Bardaisân posited five principles or beings,<sup>4</sup>—fire, and wind, and water, and light, and darkness; Mani, however, only two,—goodness and evil.<sup>5</sup> And because all these profane [writers] attributed eternity and not generation to this world, being in opposition to the holy church, which does not attribute to it eternity, but generation, i. e., temporal beginning, holding its generation to be true, but denying its eternity, we refute them in a body, as we do all their frightful doctrines. A separate treatise, however, is necessary against every one of these heresies on a larger scale than in this writing.

<sup>1</sup> *Timæus*, 69<sup>B</sup>, ταῦτα ἀτάκτως ἔχοντα ὁ θεὸς, κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> *Timæus*, 52<sup>D</sup>, ὃν τε καὶ χόραν καὶ γένεσιν εἶναι τρία τριχῇ καὶ πρὶν οὐρανὸν γενέσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> Read, "kârê 'allâhâ lâdhâ."

<sup>4</sup> Cureton, *Spic. Syr.*, p. 3, etc. Cf. also Payne Smith, s. v. "Schahrastâni," I. 104; Aaron ben Elia, p. 310; Bardesanes von Edessa von Dr. A. Merx, Halle, 1863; Bardesanes der Letzte Gnostiker, Leipzig, 1864; W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, p. 220; Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, p. 161. MS. or. Berlin Sachau 302 contains a short extract from Bardaisân. Aprêm, however (B. O. I. 181), has *seven* instead of *five*.

<sup>5</sup> Titus von Bostra, ed. Lagarde, 6:1. Flügel, *loc. cit.*, p. 177.

## S. J. FINN'S NEW HEBREW DICTIONARY.

BY RABBI B. FELSETHAL, PH., D.,

Chicago, Ill.

This dictionary may be designated not only as very interesting and instructive, but as quite unique in its character. Its full title is given below.<sup>1</sup>

Of this book which is now in the course of being published in the city of Warsaw, five numbers, each containing eighty pages, have reached me. These five numbers comprise the words from the letter א to the word גנג. The work will be completed in twenty numbers. The book is written throughout in an easy and flowing neo-hebraic language, and no exceedingly great Hebrew learning is required in order to be able to use this dictionary.

But what is there so unique in this book? the reader may ask. Have we not already a very large number of Hebrew dictionaries? Have not very many such been written during the last thousand years? At no time was there a lack of this kind of literature, since the days when Jehudah ben 'Alan, of Tiberias (died in the year 932), wrote his lexicon,<sup>2</sup> and since soon after him Jehudah Ibn Qoreish composed his "*Iggaron*,"<sup>3</sup> down to the present day in which Friedrich Delitzsch is preparing a new Hebrew dictionary which is looked for with great expectations by the friends of Hebrew philology. (For, according to all that we learn of the forthcoming work of Delitzsch, it will, in all likelihood, mark a decided progress in Hebrew lexicography.) What, then, is there so unique in Finn's book? Is it the circumstance that it is composed in Hebrew? But we have also *such* dictionaries, and quite a number of them.<sup>4</sup>

Our answer is: Finn is the first one who has undertaken to give us a complete thesaurus of the *entire* Hebrew language. All other Hebrew dictionaries—I speak only of *Hebrew* dictionaries, and not of Aramaic or Talmudic dictiona-

### האוצר<sup>1</sup>

אוצר לשון המקרא והמשנה, כולל פתרון כל המלות שנמצאו במקרא ובמשנה באור הנחותיהן הראשונות וההוראות הנגזרות מהן, והכרלי השמות והפעלים הנדרפים, ועם זה זכרון המלות הנגזרות מלשון המקרא והמשנה, שנאו בתלמודים, במדרשי ההלכות וההגדות, בפיוטים ובספרי גדולי חכמי ישראל האחרונים, והעתקתם ללשון רוססית ואשכנזית, וכן כל שמות העצמים הפרטים שנוכרו במקרא. חבר מאת ר' שמואל יוסף פין נ"י מווילנא, יוצא לאור על ידנו נפתלי משכיל-לאיתן ואברהם צוקקערמאנן. ווארשא, שנת תרמ"ו לפ"ק.

<sup>1</sup> About him and his grammatical and lexical works see Pinsker's *Liqqutē Qadmōnyyoth*, I., 106; also Geiger in "*Ogar Nehmad*," II., 158, reprinted in his *Hebr. Abhandlungen*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> See Pinsker, *loc. cit.*, p. 108. In a passage to be found in his *Risale* and quoted by Pinsker, Qoreish himself mentions that he wrote a dictionary; comp. also M. Jastrow, above page 105.

<sup>4</sup> Among these Hebrew dictionaries, written in Hebrew and published within a comparatively recent time, probably the best known is the "*Ogar ha-Shorashim*," by J. Benzeeb (*vulgo Bensew*), the first edition of which appeared in Vienna, in 1807.

ries—gather in only the *Wortschatz* of the Hebrew Bible, and leave Mishnah, Mekhilta, Sifra, Sifre, Beraithoth, etc., entirely unnoticed. But our author does not restrict himself to that part of the Hebrew, of which, accidentally, roots and stems have been preserved in the Old Testament. He defines and explains also those Hebrew words which are not found in the Bible. And there are a large number of such Hebrew *roots* in that part of the post-biblical literature of the Jews which dates from the apostolic age and the first centuries of the Christian era. There are still larger and still more extensive numbers of new *derivations*, formed from these Hebrew roots and stems, which were coming into common use in the Hebrew literature of the Jews in all later ages. Such new word-formations are coined even by Hebrew writers in our present age,—often, it must be admitted, very clumsily and really un-Hebrew, but often also very happily and quite in harmony with the genius of the Hebrew language.

The want of such a *complete* thesaurus has been felt for a long time. Zunz, more than thirty years ago, in an article containing "*Wuensche fuer ein Woerterbuch der Hebr. Sprache*,"<sup>1</sup> declared this to be a great fault and neglect in our Hebrew dictionaries that they are so narrow and limited in their scope, and he thought it not more than right and proper that the lexicographers should take notice also of the Hebrew as it was spoken and written after the canonical books of the O. T. had been collected. And now what this master was looking for thirty years ago, is gradually being realized.

We are probably not in error when we suppose that to many readers of HEBRAICA, the post-biblical Hebrew literature is an unexplored and not much-known field. It may, therefore, not be out of place if we use this occasion for trying to convey here, by a few illustrations and examples, an idea of the post-biblical Hebrew,—not of its grammatical structure, for this would require a special article, or series of articles, but of its lexical peculiarities and distinctions.

It has been said above that in the Mishnah and its cotemporary Hebrew literature Hebrew roots and stems are found which accidentally are not to be met with in the Hebrew Bible. Let us give some such roots as are not to be found in Gesenius, Fürst, or any dictionary of the Hebrew Bible.

בגר, to enter into a *riper age*, used especially of females; derivatives: בוגרת a *maiden*; בגרות the *mature state of womanhood*, etc.

ברח to amuse, to make merry; derivatives: ברחן a *fester*; בריחות or ברחנות amusement, entertainment, etc.

דוק (compare the bibl.-Hebrew דק, דקק) to be *strict*; derivatives: מדויק exact; דיוק strictness, close examination; reduplicated: מרדק, מרדקק to take it, or to be taken, strictly; דקדוק exact knowledge, science of grammar, etc.

פסד (not used in Qäl), הפסיר to cause damage; הפסר loss, damage, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch-Morgenland. Gesellsch.*, vol. X., (1856) p. 501 sq.; reprinted in Zunz' *Ges. Schriften* vol. III., p. 14, sq.

**צער** *pain, suffering, affliction*; **מצער** *one who causes pain or trouble*, etc.

**תרה** *to warn*; **התראה** *warning*, etc.

The list could be easily enlarged. That these words are pure and genuine Hebrew, and were used not only by the apostles and their cotemporaries, but also in pre-Christian times, there can be no rational doubt.

Another class of neo-Hebraic words are those which in later ages were derived from, and formed out of, such roots as already occurred in the Bible. For instance:

**חליצה** *the act of releasing a man from the duty of marrying his widowed sister-in-law*, (see Dt. xxv. 5 seq.), derived from **חלץ** *to draw off*; **חלוצה** *the widow thus released*, etc.

**יבמות** *the leviratical status* (see Dt. *ibid.*), derived from **יבם** *the levir, brother-in-law*. This word **יבמות** is also the title of one of the tractates in the Talmud, and is usually read "Yebamoth." Joseph Derenbourg, however, a few years ago, advanced the idea, and supported it by good arguments, that it would be more correct to read "Yabmuth."

**גר** in the Bible, *the stranger who dwells with us*, from the root **גור** *to dwell*; in post-biblical literature *the proselyte*; therefrom the derivations **גִּיר**, **התגיר**, *to make, or to become, a proselyte*; **גירות** *proselytism*; **גִּיררת** *a female proselyte*, etc.

**קם הבדלה** *distinction* (from **בדל**); *the benediction spoken on the close of the Sabbath*, in which God is praised "who makes a distinction between the holy Sabbath-day and the profane week-days," etc.

**מסורה** *Massoreth*, or **מסורה** *Masorah* (from **מסר** *to transmit*),—technical terms for the traditions concerning the orthography of the original text of the Bible and what is connected therewith.

**הלכה**, *Halakhah*, the rule, the religious law or enactment (from **הלך** *to go*).<sup>1</sup>

**הגדה** or **אגדה** *Haggadah, Agadah*, (from **נגד**, *Hiph'il to announce, to tell*), the non-Halakhic parts of the Talmud (sentences, maxims, parables, narratives, homiletical explanations and amplifications of biblical passages, etc.).

**מבוא**, in the Mishnah **מבוי**, *a court before a house, an entrance into a house*; in later periods, *an introduction into some branch of learning*.

**מחט** *needle*; **חייט** *a tailor*. In the Bible we find only **חוט** *the thread*.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot forego to submit here to the consideration of those of my readers who are more conversant with the New Testament and its exegesis than I claim to be, the following thought. In the Gospel according to St. John, xvi. 8, we read: Jesus said unto Thomas, "I am the way, the truth, and the life," etc.—"I am the way,"—what does this mean? Let us re-translate it into the language of the educated Jews in Jesus' times, and we will find that Jesus probably said, **אנכי ההלכה** (*I am the Halakhah* (the law), etc., and no man cometh to the Father but by me." Now the sentence becomes much clearer, and expresses an idea which is in full harmony with the theology of the Fourth Gospel. But what good sense can be connected with the words "I am the way?" In looking into the excellent Hebrew translation of the New Testament by Prof. Franz Delitzsch, I notice that the words under consideration are rendered there by **אנכי הדרך**,—and this, I must confess, causes me rather hesitation in regarding my rendering as correct. However, it may be worth examination by experts.



**רִאיה** *the argument*; **רְאִיה** *the faculty of seeing*; **רִאיוֹן** *the act of appearing before God in the Temple*; (see Dt. xvi. 16); **רָאִי** *to be fit or proper* (from the verb **ראה** *to see*).

**א רב מובהק** is a celebrated or illustrious teacher. **מובהק**, from **בהק** *to shine*; see the biblical *ἀπὸ λεγόμενον* **בֶּהֱק** *a white spot*, Lev. xiii. 39.

**תקון**, **תקנה** *an institution, a firmly established rule*; **מתוקן** *to be ready, established*; derived from **תקן**, which is three times found in Ecclesiastes.

**כִּוֵּן** (from biblical **כוּן**) *to direct the attention*; therefrom **כִּוְנָה** *attention, devotion*.

**חֲזִין** (from biblical **חזה** *to see*) *the overseer*; in the Mishnah, **חזן הכנסת** *the overseer of the synagogue*; later, *the reader, or the conductor of divine service*.

**עבודה**, which in the Bible means *manual work, or bodily labor*, signifies in later times, *service in the temple*; and afterwards *divine service* in general.

And thus could we multiply these examples by the hundreds; we could enumerate whole pages full of such neo-hebraic word-formations, as **עברה**, **תרם** (from **תרומה**, and this from **רום**), **תחיה**, **סעודה**, **אנינות**, **אבלות**, **כנסיה**, **היתר**, **הרגל**, **תלמיד**, **תבשיל**, **ברירה**, **התחלה**, **הכנסה** or **כנסת**, **כחגיגה**, etc., etc.

All these word-formations and derivatives, given above, occur already in the literature of the Talmudical age. But the Jewish authors in all subsequent ages coined new words, as necessity required, from the old roots. A furtive glance into the liturgical poetry of the synagogue (the *Piyyutim*) which originated in the middle ages makes us acquainted with a vast number of such new formations. (Zunz, in the appendices to his *Synagogale Poesie*, furnishes several lists of such new enrichments of the store of Hebrew terms by the *Payyetanim*.) So we find a peculiar class of metaphysical Hebrew terms in the writings of the many Jewish metaphysicians and theologians of these mediæval times,—which, of course, had to be coined anew. For, who before *Saadia Gaon*, in the tenth century, wrote on systematic theology or on speculative philosophy? **הכרח** *the necessity*; **בחירה** *freedom of will*; **אפשרות** *possibility*; **ישות** *being, existing*; **מהות** *the what, quality*; **כמות** *the how-many, quantity*; **איכות** *the how*; **אחדות** *the oneness*; **יחוד** *monotheism*; **קדמות** *priority*; **השארת הנפש** *immortality of the soul*, etc.; such are some of these abstract philosophical terms.

While **קודם**, **מוקדם** etc. (comp. biblical **קדם**, **קָדַם**) are found already in the more ancient post-biblical literature, we find in later periods **הקדמה** *preface*; **קדימה** (e. g. **כסף קדימה** *payment in advance*), etc. In our own times Hebrew writers have given currency to such words as **ספרות** *literature*; **יהדות** *Judaism*, and so forth.

Let us now, after these illustrations from the peculiar *Sprachgut* belonging to the realm of the neo-hebraic language and literature, return to Finn's *Thesaurus*. In general, we must say that the author is perfectly competent and

qualified for his work, and that in the main he is fully reliable. Yet, in a few instances, it seems that some stems have been overlooked, or that some other stems are somewhat defectively defined and admit of corrections. Thus, e. g., under **אדום** the author states correctly that in the Talmudical literature "Edom" was used as a typical name for the Roman empire, but he forgot to add that at a later time, after the city of Rome had become the center and capital of the Christian world, "Edom" was also used to designate Christendom. In some connections "Edom" means the language of Rome, the Latin language (see, e. g., Jehudah Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation of Jehudah ha-Levi's *Cozari*, II., 77: **לא כערב באדום ולא בערב** = neither in the Latin, nor in the Arabic language).

Strange it is that the author forgot to state that the noun **אור** is, in some instances, to be translated by *the eve* (preceding a certain day). In this sense the word is used in the very beginning of the Mishnah Pesahim.

Under the stem **בטא**, resp. **מבטא**, mention should have been made that with some philosophical writers **חכמת המבטא** means the *science of logic* or of *dialectics*.

*S. v.* **בית** the author gives a list of seven various definitions, for which the word stands in the Bible and in the later Hebrew literature. He might have added an eighth definition; he might have informed us that **בית** means also in some connections a *stanza* or a *verse* in poetry.

**גלח** *to shave off, to shear*. Under this article the author mentions correctly the Mishnaic abstract nouns derived from it: **גלוח** and **תגלחת**. But he does not mention the word **גלח**, used in post-talmudical times, a *monk* (literally, a *shorn one*, one who wears a tonsure), and the word **גלחות**, derived therefrom, the *monkdom*, also sometimes the language of the monks, the *Latin*, etc.

But it is perhaps too early to expect in our days a perfect and complete thesaurus, which should comprise *all* the words of the Hebrew found in the large post-biblical literature of the Jews, and which should give *all* the meanings and shades of meanings in which these words have been used by various authors and in various times. A number of smaller lexical works, collecting and arranging the words used by certain authors, or in certain special branches of learning, ought first to be written and published before a full and complete thesaurus can possibly be undertaken. The field is too large and as yet not as much explored as it ought to be. It would, therefore, be well if, for instance, one would undertake to extract from the grammatical works of the mediæval grammarians their peculiar grammatical terms and to explain them; and if he would thereby furnish us a glossary in which the words **טעמים**, **תנועות**, **נקודות**, **משרתים**, **מלכים**, **משקל**, **בנין**, **סוגר**, **דלת**, **יתר**, **חרוזים**, etc., would be properly defined. So we ought to have, as a preliminary work, a neo-hebraic philosophical glossary; also a glossary explaining medical, mathematical, astronomical and other scientific terms. Even in the historical Hebrew literature of the mediæval and mod-

ern Jews we meet words which to the beginner must be puzzling, though they are seemingly so easy. What, for instance, is to be understood by זְרוּבָבֵד, or by פְּרָחִים? Not every one will know that these words are translations of the European words *Gulden* and *Florins*; or that the word צְעִירִים is the neo-hebraic equivalent for *Minorites*, etc., etc.

But after all, despite some shortcomings, Finn's book is highly commendable.

## NOTES ON PSALM LXXIV. 4, 5.

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The difficulty of these verses has been recognized by all commentators ; and it is not my intention to discuss the many explanations which have been offered. I merely wish to propose a solution of a different kind by what appears a simple and well-warranted emendation of the text. If the suggestion has already been made by others and rejected, your readers will, I hope, pardon my ignorance. Now it is certainly noticeable that the chief difficulties lie in the word אֲתוֹת closing verse 4, and יִרְעֵי beginning verse 5. Leave out these words and the whole passage is quite intelligible. It runs as follows: "Thy enemies have roared in the midst of thy congregations, they have set up their signs (i. e., probably heathen idols). As one lifteth axes on high upon a thicket of trees, so now all the carved work together with hatchets and hammers do they break down." On the other hand, these two words, if read, give us two expressions clumsy, unparalleled, and, in spite of all the labor expended upon them, of very doubtful meaning. This is all the more remarkable, when we consider that otherwise the style of the psalm is vigorous, graphic and lucid. We should not, of course, be justified in rejecting these words on the ground already given, were it not that in this case we can trace a very probable source of interpolation. In the ninth verse we find these same words at the beginning and the end of the verse. The only differences are that the first has the additional suffix יָנִי, and the last, according to the Massoretic text, is pointed by different vowels. In the Massoretic text also the words, עֲרֵמָה are joined by Mer'kha to יִרְעֵי, and this certainly gives a fair sense; but it would suit the parallelism and the context better to take יִרְעֵי absolutely as a synonym of נִבְיָא. What the Psalmist complains of is that religious worship and religious teaching have been alike suppressed. The words עֲרֵמָה may have originally preceded עֲרֵמָתִי as the beginning of the new sentence of verse 9; or are more probably an interpolation arising out of עֲרֵמָתִי, a cause of interpolation so frequent in all languages that it is not necessary to quote parallelisms. Such an interpolation would have been favored by the ambiguity of construction very similar to what we meet in verse 4, where the words בִּקְרֵב מוֹעֵדֶךָ may be taken either with the first or the second clause of the verse. Those who repeated the psalm, or heard it repeated, being very familiar with the sound of עֲרֵמָה immediately after יִרְעֵי might, not unnaturally, have associated these words in sense and so have unconsciously introduced the interpolation. This view seems to have the support of the LXX. The final ετι of verse 9 is, as the parallel ετι of the first

clause shows, not so likely a translation of ער-מה as of an עור which naturally enough arose out of the ער at the beginning of verse 10. Now, if ער-מה is an interpolation, or should be taken with ער-מתי, then the words אתותינו יודע אתות יודע of verses 4, 5, represent an abbreviation of this verse? There are two obvious ways in which these words may have become interpolated in verses 4, 5. Either they were originally a marginal gloss, something of the nature of a note, intended to illustrate or explain the use of אתות; or far more probably they point to a difference of position in very early MSS., that is to say, the scribe simply wished to point to the fact that in some copy or copies he found this verse standing between 4 and 5. The transposition from verse 9 to the end of verse 4 may have arisen even unintentionally, the contrast between אתותם and אתותינו causing their juxtaposition. That verses got sometimes so transposed we have positive evidence in Ps. xxxviii. 21, 22, compared with 2 Kgs. xx. 7, 8. But we probably have a more remarkable parallel to the supposed transposition in this psalm in Ps. xviii. 13, 14, cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 13, 14. Here, if we had the psalm alone we should be inclined to suppose that the phrase ברר וגחלי אש was genuine in verse 14, and not in verse 13. But a comparison with the LXX. and Samuel shows that the reverse was more nearly the case. The true history of the variant appears to be as follows. The original reading in verse 13 was probably as in Samuel מננה נגרו בערו גחלי אש. By transposition of letters בערו became עברו, and this latter word gave rise to the two variants עביו and בררו which eventually found their way into the text. Of this origin of עביו there can be little doubt; it is possible, however, that בררו, as one word, may have originally been substituted as a synonym of עברו, but this does not affect the main contention. In either case we get by conflation the present reading of verse 13 in Ps. xviii. supported in this stage by the LXX. version of the psalm.<sup>1</sup> But now the last words ברר וגחלי אש became little intelligible (as a bright sky, not "hailstones and coals of fire," would be the natural result of the passing away of the clouds), and they were transposed to the end of the next verse, where they suited the context better. The present text of the psalm represents the final stage of text in which the position found in MSS. before and after the transposition is combined. The only difference between this case and Psalm lxxiv. is that here the repeated clause, which is very short, appears twice in full; in the latter case it is abbreviated in verses 4 and 5.

<sup>1</sup> The LXX. does not read these words in Ps. xviii. 14, in Samuel it agrees with the Hebrew text.

## GENESIS II. 25 AND XLVIII. 10.

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1. I take Past and Future to be the primary significations of the two tenses in Hebrew. I therefore adhere to the old nomenclature, Preterite and Future.

2. From these primary significations are derived various ideas and relations which the tenses are used to express.

3. When used to express any of these derived notions, the time to which it belongs, whether Past, Present or Future, as in the case of the Participle or the Infinitive, is wholly indicated by the connection.

4. Some of these derivations are as follows:

### FROM THE PRETERITE.

- I. Antecedence, or Relative Past.
- II. Causality.
  - 1. Cause.
  - 2. Reason.
  - 3. Adversative: though, notwithstanding, whereas.

### FROM THE FUTURE.

- I. Sequence, or Relative Future.
- II. Result.
  - 1. Of Cause.
  - 2. Of Reason.
  - 3. Adversative: yet, nevertheless.

By *adversative* I mean that, from some cause, reason or condition, or from some statement, a certain result might be expected; but such is not the case, or the contrary or an entirely different one issues. That cause, reason or condition is, in Hebrew, often put in the Preterite, while the Future is used to point out a result different from, or opposite to, the one which might be expected. The Preterite throws the adversative stress on the protasis, indicated in English by *though*, *notwithstanding*, *whereas*; e. g., though I went, I did not get there. The Future in like use throws the stress on the apodosis, indicated in English by *yet*, *nevertheless*; e. g., I went, yet I did not get there.

Gen. II. 25 belongs here. "They were both naked." The *result* naturally expected is that they would be ashamed. But they were not. With this precisely corresponds 1 Kgs. i. 1, "They covered him with clothes, yet he gat no heat." Ez. xxiv. 12, "So they cried, yet I would not hear" (the Future of the protasis as frequentative Past).

This will account for the Future in Is. xlv. 4, the clauses being inverted. "I surnamed thee, though thou knewest me not" = Thou knewest me not, yet I surnamed thee. Ps. lxxiii. 22, with 'נ, "Yet my heart was embittered, and I was pricked in my reins." In the form of Waw conv. Pret. = Waw with Future separated, Ps. l. 21, "These things thou didst, yet I held my peace."

According to statement 3 above, examples in present time would illustrate the principle equally well. They are comparatively numerous. I will only refer to 2 Sam. xiv. 14*b*; Is. xii. 1; Jer. viii. 12 (with נָּ); Ezek. xviii. 14; Ps. l. 12; Job xix. 4, 22.

GENESIS XLVIII. 10.

The Hebrew has three ways of expressing possibility and ability. *a.* By the use of יָכֹל followed by the Infinitive, often with the preposition לְ. *b.* By the Future tense. This is one of its derived uses. *c.* By a combination of the two, i. e., the Future of יָכֹל, the future form reinforcing the essential idea of the verb.

The first requires no remark. As to the second, see Driver, § 37. There are numerous instances of the third in present time, e. g., Gen. xxxiv. 14; Exod. xviii. 18; Num. xxii. 37; Deut. i. 9; 1 Sam. xvii. 33; Is. lvii. 20; Jer. vi. 10; Am. vii. 10; Hab. i. 13; Ps. cxxxix. 6; Prov. xxx. 21; Job. xlii. 2; Lam. i. 14; Ec. viii. 17.

According to statement 3, it may equally as well be used of Past time. Under this belong Gen. XLVIII. 10; Josh. vii. 12; xv. 63 seq.; Jer. XLIV. 22; Ezek. XLVII. 5; Hos. v. 13; Job xxxi. 23; 2 Chron. xxxii. 15*a*, and, in the sense of lawfulness, according to the customs of the country, Gen. XLIII. 32.

# OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.

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## IV.

### ISAIAH.

XXX. 18. "And therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you," etc.

Rabbi Samuel, the son of Nachmani, said that Rabbi Jonathan said: May the bones of those who compute the latter days (when the Messiah shall appear) be blown away; for some say, Because the time has come and himself has not, therefore he will never come! But wait thou for him, for it is said: "Though he tarry, wait for him" (Hab. ii. 3). Perhaps you will say, We wait, but he does not wait; learn rather to say: "And therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 97, col. 2.

— 25. "And there shall be upon every high mountain, and upon every high hill rivers and streams of waters," etc.

Rabbi Eleazar, the son of Rabbi Hayim, said: All that Abraham did unto the ministering angels, God has repaid to his children at their exodus from Egypt, and will repay yet to them in the future. You find by Abraham: "Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched" (Gen. xviii. 4), and God repaid it to his children (as it is said): "And I will take you to me for a people" (Exod. vi. 7), where "I will take you to me" stands against "Let, I pray, be fetched." Rabbi Jochanan said, "To me" denotes in this world; but whence (is it proved that it refers also) to the future! (From) "And the people shall take them and bring them to their place" (Isa. xiv. 2). Of Abraham it is written "a little water;" but God gave his children water at their exodus from Egypt, (as is seen from) "and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it" (Exod. xvii. 6). And how is it proved that it shall also be so in the future? From "for the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills" (Deut. viii. 4). And how is it proved that it shall also be so in the days of the Messiah? From "and there shall be upon every high mountain, and upon every high hill, rivers and streams of water," and "I will open rivers in high places" (Isa. xli. 18).—*Midrash on Numbers* vii. 48, sect. 14.



- 26. “Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun.”

This verse is quoted as presenting the Messianic age in *Talmud Pesachius*, fol. 68, col. 1; *Sanhedrin*, fol. 91, col. 2. God said to them (Bezaleel and Moses), You have made a candlestick before me, but in the future I will light a sevenfold larger light, as it is said, “Moreover, the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun.”—*Midrash on Exodus xxxvii.* 1, sect. 50.

- XXXII. 20. “That send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass.”

What is the meaning of “but thou shalt in any wise let the dam go”? (Deut. xxii. 7). It is to indicate that, by observing this commandment, you will hasten the coming of the King Messiah, of whom also the word “send forth” is written. Whence is this proved? It is said, “That send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass.”—*Midrash on Deuteronomy xxii.* 7, sect. 6.

- XXXV. 5, 6. “Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing,” etc.

Come and see; all that the Holy One has wounded in this world he will heal in the future. The blind shall be healed; for it is said, “The eyes of the blind shall be opened.” The lame shall be healed; for it is said, “Then shall the lame man leap as an hart.” The dumb shall be healed; as it is said, “And the tongue of the dumb sing.”—*Midrash on Genesis xlvi.* 28, sect. 85; *Yalkut on 1 Sam.* xxviii. 24.

The word “then” (אז) may refer to the past and to the future. To the latter refers “then thou shalt see and flow together” (Isa. lx. 5); “then shall thy light break forth as the morning” (*ibid.* lviii. 8); “then the eyes of the blind,” etc.; “then shall the lame man leap,” etc.—*Yalkut on Joshua* x. 12.

- XL. 1. “Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.”

When the word of Joseph had such a soothing effect upon the hearts of the tribes, how much more will be the effect when the Holy One, blessed be he! will come to comfort Jerusalem; as it is said, “Comfort ye, comfort ye,” etc.—*Midrash on Genesis l.* 21, sect. 100.

- 5. “And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together,” etc.

On Leviticus xli. the Midrash remarks: Rabbi Phinehas said, in the name of Rabbi Hoshaya, this parable: A king showed himself to the son of his house in his true likeness; for in this world the shechinah appears to individuals; but in the future the glory of the Lord will appear; as it is said, “And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed,” etc.—*Midrash on Leviticus i.* 1, sect. 1.

- 10. “Behold, the Lord God will come with strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him; behold, his reward is with him,” etc.

And on account of the sufferings which Israel suffered, will the Holy One,

blessed be he! give them a double reward in the days of the Messiah; for it is said, "Behold, the Lord God will come," etc.—*Yalkut on Exodus xxxii. 6.*

— XLI. 18. See under XXX. 25.

— 25. "I have raised up one from the north, and he shall come," etc.

This verse is Messianically applied in the Midrash, where it is said, "When the Messiah rises, who is in the north, and comes to rebuild the sanctuary, which is in the south; for it is said, "I have raised up one from the north," etc.—*Midrash on Numbers vii. 12*, sect. 13.

— 27. "The first shall say to Zion," etc.

The name of the Messiah is "the First," as the Prophet says, "The first shall say to Zion," etc.—*Talmud Pesachim*, fol. 5, col. 1.

Rabbi Haggai said, in the name of Rabbi Isaac: It is said, The first (came out red, Gen. xxv. 25), on account of the first day; (as it is said) "And ye shall take you on the first day" (Lev. xxiii. 40), i. e., in the merit of the first day I will reveal myself to you as the first; as it is said, "I am the first, and I am the last" (Isa. xlv. 6), and, I will get you satisfaction from the first, i. e., Esau; for it is written, "And the first came out red" (Gen. xxv. 25); and, I will build you the first, i. e., the temple; as it is written, "A glorious high throne from the beginning is the place of our sanctuary" (Jer. xvii. 12), and, Bring you the First, i. e., the King Messiah, of whom it is written, "The first shall say to Zion," etc.<sup>1</sup>—*Midrash on Genesis xxv. 24*, sect. 63.

— XLII. 1. "Behold my servant, whom I uphold."

*Targum*: Behold my servant, the Messiah, I will bring him near.

— XLIII. 10. "And my servant, whom I have chosen."

*Targum*: And my servant, the Messiah, in whom I am well pleased.

— LII. 3. "Ye were sold for nought; but ye shall be redeemed without money."

Rabbi Eleazar says: If Israel would repent, they would be redeemed; as it is said, "Return, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings" (Jer. iii. 22). Rabbi Joshua said unto him: Has it not been already said, "Ye were sold for nought, but ye shall be redeemed without money"? "Ye were sold" among the idolaters; but ye shall be redeemed without money, i. e., without repentance and good works.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 97, col. 2.

— 7. "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings."

In the hour when the Holy One, blessed be his name! redeems Israel, three days before Messiah, comes Elijah, and stands upon the mountains of Israel and weeps and mourns for them, and says to them, Ye mountains of the land of Israel, how long shall you stand in a dry and desolate land? And his voice is heard from the world's end to the world's end, and after that he says to

<sup>1</sup> In similar connection our passage is quoted in *Midrash on Leviticus xxxiii. 40*, sect. 30; *Pesikta* (ed. Buber), p. 185, col. 2.

them: Peace has come to the world, peace has come to the world; as it is said, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings," etc. And when the wicked hear it, they rejoice, and they say one to the other: Peace has come to us. On the second day he shall stand upon the mountains of Israel and shall say: Good has come to the world, good has come to the world; for it is said, "that bringeth good tidings of good." On the third day he shall come and stand upon the mountains of Israel, and say: Salvation has come to the world, salvation has come to the world; for it is said, "that publisheth salvation." And when he will see the wicked say so, he will say unto Zion, "thy God reigneth."—*Yalkut* in loco.

- 13. "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently; he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high."

*Targum*: Behold, my servant, the Messiah, shall prosper; he shall be exalted, etc. "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently." This is the King Messiah. "He shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high." He shall be exalted more than Abraham; for of Him it is written, "I have exalted my hand to the Lord" (Gen. xiv. 22). He shall be extolled more than Moses; for of Him it is written, "Thou sayest unto me, Extol (i. e., carry) them in thy bosom" (Num. xi. 12). And he shall be higher than the ministering angels; for it is said: "As for their rings, they were so high" (Ezek. i. 18). And thus it is said, "Who art thou, O great mountain?" (Zech. iv. 7), i. e., that is greater than the fathers. "But He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and with His stripes we are healed" (Isa. liii. 5). Rav Huna, in the name of Acha, said: The chastisements (or afflictions) were divided into three parts—one to David and the fathers; and one to the rebellious generations; and one to King Messiah.—*Yalkut* in loco (also *Tanchuma* in loco).

## → CONTRIBUTED NOTES. ←

"Professor Peters' Notes."—The January number of *HEBRAICA* contained quite a number of suggestive articles, among which were the interesting notes of Professor Peters. His explanation of the ending  $\text{ן}$  in Hebrew (in  $\text{אבות}$ , for instance) as identical in origin with the ending  $\text{ûti}$  of masc. adjectives and nouns in Assyrian is quite correct. For the sake of preserving the historical character of our science,<sup>1</sup> I should like to call attention to the fact that, in the preface (p. xxxvii) to his *Akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883), Professor Haupt has already remarked, " $\text{abûti}^2$  Väter = Hebr.  $\text{אבות}$ , was nicht aus  $\text{*abâti}$  entstanden ist." These few words contain the whole story, since they assert that Hebrew  $\text{אבות}$  is a masculine and not a feminine formation.

Similarly for his remarks about  $\text{šadû}$  mountain being equal to  $\text{שדה}$  field, Dr. Peters might have quoted *HEBRAICA*, vol. I, p. 181, note 1.

That  $\text{û}$  and  $\text{â}$  were respectively the masculine and feminine perfect third person plural endings in primitive Semitic seems quite probable, if we grant that primitive Semitic possessed a perfect. More than that, the examples Dr. Peters cites (the Chinese pronunciation of Ethiopic  $\text{nagarû}$ ,  $\text{nagarâ}$  included) would not prove. For the explanation of the forms  $\text{עֶרָה}$ , Gen. XLIX. 22, and  $\text{קָמָה}$ , 1 Sam. iv. 15, it will suffice to refer to Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar*, § 146: 3 and 4; Müller-Robertson's *Outlines of Hebrew Syntax*, § 507: 1; Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. II., 146.

The ingenious explanation of the form  $\text{יקטל}$  may safely be passed over in silence. Very problematical is the combination of Hebrew  $\text{אֵן}$  with Assyrian  $\text{adê}$ . I know of no case in which  $\text{î}$  in Hebrew corresponds to  $\text{î}$  in Assyrian<sup>3</sup> and since we have Hebrew  $\text{עֵר}$ , poetic  $\text{עֶרִי}$ , I see no need of setting up a new phonetic law.

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<sup>1</sup> See the conclusion of Prof. Paul Haupt's review of Delitzsch's "*Kosseans*," in the *Andover Review*, July, 1884, p. 98; and Dr. Bezold's reference to the passage in the preface (p. 7) to his *Babylonische Literatur*.

<sup>2</sup>  $\text{abûti}$  itself never occurs; a parallel form, however, is  $\text{šibûtu}$  elders, in the *Deluge*, I, 81.

<sup>3</sup> Nobody would bring forward in support of this the combination of  $\text{piazu}$  and Arabic  $\text{قَهْد}$  hunting leopard, and kurkizammu and  $\text{كَرْكَدَن}$ , Ethiopic karkand (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien* 61:47; Hommel, *Sæugethiere*, 301:2), especially since Dr. Jensen has shown, in the *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie*, I, 311, that  $\text{piazu}$ , or  $\text{biazu}$ , means "hog," just like  $\text{šahu}$  wild

boar, fem.  $\text{šahitu}$ ; and  $\text{humširu}$ , Hebrew  $\text{חֲמִשִּׁיר}$ , Arabic  $\text{خنزير}$

## ➤BOOK :NOTICES.◀

### BEZOLD'S BABYLONISCH-ASSYRISCHE LITERATUR.\*

By the publication of this book Bezold has placed all Assyriologists under great obligations to him. It contains useful and necessary information for beginners in this department as well as for advanced students and authorities. The former can find in it a short history of the discoveries, a list of all the important historical texts together with a complete bibliography of the literature connected with these texts. Its chief value to the latter lies in the index to the British Museum and other tablets, and in the bibliography.

The nature of the book is such that an idea of the great amount of labor expended in its preparation and of the value to all Assyrian students of the topics treated can only be obtained from a list of contents. After an introduction and a Chronological *Excurs*, under the HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS, in §§ 12-82, are taken up those of the Kings, viz.: 1. The inscriptions of the old Babylonian kings. 2. Those of the old Assyrian kings up to the beginning of the Eponym canon. 3. Those of the Assyrian kings from Ašûrnâsirpal to Ašûrbanipal. 4. Those of the Babylonian kings from Ramânapiliddina up to the end of the New-Babylonian kingdom; the Achæmenian and Seleucidæan inscriptions. Under C, in §§ 83-95, we have the contract tablets, letters, etc. II. NON-HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS. A. The poetical literature. 1. Epics; legends; fables. 2. Penitential psalms and hymns; prayers and songs. 3. Magical formulas, etc. B. The scientific literature. 1. Grammatical and lexicographical collections. 2. Geographical lists. 3. Mathematical, astronomical, astrological and mythological inscriptions. 4. Remains of medical and "literary" works. By far the most interesting to advanced students are the separate lists of the tablets in the Kujundschick, George Smith and Rassam collections. Each one of these tablets is described as fully as was possible at the time of publication.

The author has given us a book, the intrinsic value, completeness, typographical appearance, etc., of which recommend it to all Assyrian students.

ROBERT F. HARPER.

### DERENBOURG'S "LA SCIENCE DES RELIGIONS ET L'ISLAMISME."†

A most gratifying testimony to the importance which the young science of religion has assumed is furnished by the recent establishment at Paris, already so rich in its provisions for higher studies in all departments of research, of a special

\* Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur nebst einem chronologischen Excurs, zwei Registern und einem Index zu 1700 Thontafeln des Britisch-Museums, herausgegeben von Carl Bezold. Leipzig: *Otto Schulz*, 1896. 8vo, pp. 394, price, M.12.

† LA SCIENCE DES RELIGIONS ET L'ISLAMISME. Par Hartwig Derenbourg. Paris: *Leroux*, 1886. pp. 95. fr.2.50

school for the *sciences religieuses*. As the first of the kind, unless we include the (former) theological department of the University of Leyden, which some years ago was removed from its dogmatic to a purely scientific basis and was practically incorporated with the historical section of the university, it deserves our special attention, and its development will be watched with deep interest by all who are alive to the important results which may be expected from the scientific investigation and critical study of religions, of the development of religious thought and practices, of the growth of doctrines, dogmas and ceremonies. At the head of the new school stands the eminent Professor of the Science of Religion at the Collège du France, Albert Reville, whose name alone is a sufficient guarantee for the high rank which the new departure will take; and the brilliant array of scholars gathered around Reville, including such men as Maurice Vernes, Ernest Havet, Hartwig Derenbourg, E. Lefebure and A. Bergaigne (to which we should like to see added Ernest Renan), warrant the holding out of the very highest expectations. In the spring of 1886, the faculty, consisting of thirteen professors, was organized and courses announced embracing a large variety of subjects appertaining to the religions of India, China, Japan, Greece and Rome, as well as the critical study of the origin and development of Judaism, Christianity and Mahomedanism.

The interesting little volume before us embodies two lectures delivered by Prof. Hartwig Derenbourg as an introduction to the courses in the department assigned to him, namely, the religion, or rather religions of Islam. He starts out with a picture of the condition of Arabic studies in France when he began his career seventeen years ago, which is desolate enough to reassure even those who take a despairing view of the prospects for the study in this country. With a good deal of humor he describes the character of a very slim audience that gathered around him in a room of the Sorbonne, and who seem to have come more out of pity for the young savant than because of any attraction which the study of the Arabic grammar and the Koran had for them. Derenbourg was careful, as he tells us, not to impose any tasks on his "hearers,"—they could not be called his pupils,—for fear of losing them entirely. After holding up in contrast the brighter picture furnished by the present, Derenbourg enters upon an examination of the scope and aim of the science of religion, the methods of study and the means at our disposal. He shows that, while the science of religion borrows largely from philosophy, archæology, anthropology and ethnography, it is properly to be classed as a branch of historical studies. In pursuing his work, the investigator is to be actuated by no motive save the desire to understand and to explain in a natural manner phenomena which present themselves to his notice. He is not to place himself in the position of an advocate or of an opponent; and while rigidly excluding the supernatural as lying entirely outside of his province, he is to maintain that "spirit of respectful sympathy" which all religions as "the great efforts of the human spirit, efforts which represent the best labors and hopes of mankind," merit. In the second lecture Derenbourg gives an admirable sketch of the religious movement inaugurated by Mohammed, such as, for compactness and at the same time clearness—the whole covering only sixty pages—we do not remember to have seen surpassed. It reminds one forcibly of Nöldeke's sketch of the "Life of Mohammed," from which one obtains a far better picture of the general course of the prophet's career than from Sprenger's exhaustive work, notwithstanding the excellent qualities of the latter. We are

glad to see Derenbourg lay stress upon the necessity of studying, by such means as are at our disposal, the period preceding Mahommed as the *sine qua non* for the understanding of the religion that bears his name. The notion that any religion can sprout up, as it were, over night, or that people suddenly wake up to a recognition that henceforth their worship must be confined to one Deity, instead of many, is well-nigh exploded. A religion cannot properly be said to have been "founded" least of all by a single person; it is a growth, and the appearance of Mahommed—like that of all religious reformers—marks simply an important stage—a turning-point, if you will—in the development of religion among the Arabs, the beginnings of which must be sought in a period long prior to his coming. The ground had gradually been prepared to receive the seed sown by him, and this preparation was certainly equal in importance to the sowing of the seed. In addition to such valuable sources for studying the pre-islamitic times as the "Kitâb al Agâni" ("Book of Songs") we have now fortunately a number of ancient monuments, notably the Himyaritic inscriptions, which furnish us with most precious, though scant, data of pre-islamitic conditions. Such "finds" as the inscriptions discovered at Teima, some years ago, are an augury of what is still in store for future explorers. The conviction has gained ground among scholars that the interior of Arabia, unfortunately at present practically inaccessible because of the dangers attending the traveler, is filled with stone monuments of all kinds dating from the days anterior to Mohammed.

Another point upon which Derenbourg justly lays great stress is the services which Abou Bekr, and more especially Omar, rendered to Mahommedanism. His summing up in this connection merits quoting: "What the prophets of Israel were for Judaism, what St. Paul was for Christianity, Abou Bekr and Omar were for Islam." The sword of Omar accomplished what the visions of Mahommed failed to do; and indeed but for Omar, the efforts of Mahommed would have resulted in total failure. Not only does Omar's conversion mark a turning-point in the fortunes of the prophet, who until then had made little if any headway, but the different tactics introduced by Omar, more particularly after Mahommed's death, first gained for the new movement a foot-hold among the Arab tribes, so that, while Mahommed must be put down as the inaugurator of the great movement, Omar is the real *leader* of it. To have united under one banner tribes scattered over a great area and engaged in constant warfare with each other, and to have roused a people cowardly by nature to a pitch of enthusiasm which enabled them to face death in the battle-field with calm resignation, nay, to hail it with joy, remains an everlasting testimony to Omar's eminent genius, to which is due the wonderful spread of a religion that numbers more than one hundred and seventy-five millions, and so far from being on the decline, as we sometimes see it stated, is still growing.

Professor Derenbourg stands to-day in the foremost rank of oriental scholars, and the high reputation which he enjoys has lately been still further enhanced by his edition of the grammatical work of the famous Sibawaihi. Suffice it to say that the little volume before us is worthy of the successor of Silvestre De Sacy, whose chair for the Arabic language and literature at the "Ecole Speciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes" Professor Derenbourg at present holds.

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